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Gabon

* IMF Approves Structural Adjustment Program

34190008A Libreville L'UNION in French
18 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] In connection with the economic and financial recovery policy the government has been pursuing since 1986, on 15 September 1989 the International Monetary Fund Council approved our country's structural adjustment program covering the period from September 1989 to March 1991.

On this occasion, the president of the republic and chief of state pays solemn and well-deserved homage to the people of Gabon who, in accepting the efforts and sacrifices asked of them, have made possible this important decision.

* Increased Trade With China Encouraged

34190008B Libreville L'UNION in French
18 Sep 89 p 6

[Article by J.N.E.: "China-Gabon Trade Relations: Toward Developing and Activating Trade Between the Two Countries; President of Chamber of Commerce Invited to Beijing Business Fair"]

[Text] On Friday morning the development and activation of trade relations between Libreville and Beijing was the focus of the conversations Mr Jean-Baptiste Ngomo-Obiang had with the commercial adviser at the Chinese Embassy, Mr Wei Jianguo.

The president of the Chamber of Commerce, Agriculture, and Industry was given an opportunity to inform the Chinese diplomat that he was completely and favorably disposed toward productive trade between our two countries in all those sectors that come under his jurisdiction. After extolling the good relations existing between China and Gabon, Mr Ngomo-Obiang in the discussion expressed the desire to his partner of seeing Beijing increase its trade relations with Libreville.

In return, the commercial adviser at the Chinese Embassy, Mr Wei Jianguo, first underscored the understanding and friendship with which Chinese desirous of trading with Gabon have always been received and on this same occasion extended an invitation to the Chinese Foreign Trade Center to visit Beijing to participate in the Business Fair from the 15th to the 29th of next November.

We note the fact that China is one of the countries that participates nearly every year in Libreville's different fairs (12 March or 17 August). Beijing's presence at these national trade fairs is always welcomed by the people of Gabon, who take advantage of it to do profitable business with them.

In the context of trade between our two countries, China is one of our customers that buys lumber, manganese, and uranium. In return, our country imports household electrical appliances and Chinese clothing.

* 1988 Payments Balanced Through Rescheduling

34190008C Libreville L'UNION in French
13 Sep 89 p 6

[Article by Okouma-m'Engandzi and Ngari-Elingui: "Balance of Payments: Gabon Will Get Out of the Fix It Is In Provided the Strain Imposed on It by External Factors Like the Cost of Raw Materials and Fluctuations of the American Dollar Is Relaxed"]

[Text] The National Balance of Foreign Payments Committee met yesterday in the offices of the Bank of Central African States (BEAC) in the presence of Mr Edouard Alexis M'Bouy-Boutzit, the chairman of the Socioeconomic Council, to examine the results for 1988.

The roundtable discussion was marked by the fact that it was held behind closed doors. But at the close of the meeting, Mr M'Bouy-Boutzit first defined the balance of payments as being the balance between what a country produces and what it received in economic transactions. Then he declared with optimism that, despite low market prices for raw materials, Gabon will get out of the fix it is in because it holds a few trump cards: its mining, forestry, and agricultural potential.

Slight Drop in Exports

Furthermore, according to the press release handed out at the end of the meeting, the committee stated that overall foreign trade volume was estimated to be satisfactory in 1988 and reached a near-balance level following the 1986 slump due to the combined effect of the drops in the price of oil and the dollar.

Thus, the volume of transactions in 1988 was stabilized (800 billion CFA francs) as against a drop of 20 percent in 1987 and 26 percent in 1986, and the total deficit too, which was sharply reduced in terms of revenue to 0.6 billion CFA francs after having risen to 40.6 billion CFA francs in 1987 and 66.9 billion CFA francs in 1986.

The main reason these results were achieved, despite a slight drop in export receipts and especially an increase in expenditures for goods and services imports, was the improvement in capital movements, which resulted in a net surplus of 190 billion CFA francs as against 110 billion CFA francs in 1987.

Improvement in 1989

Also, as concerns the 7.2-percent increase in goods imports, due in particular to the development of the Rabi-Kounga oilfields, the committee stated that in 1988 exports declined by 7.9 percent. This drop in export

revenue occurred in spite of the fact that oil production went from 7.8 million tons in 1987 to 8.1 million in 1988. The other exports (manganese, uranium, lumber, etc.) showed improvement on the whole.

As a result of this, while the trade balance figure was positive, it did drop to 120 billion CFA francs in 1988 as against 166 billion in 1987 and 32.9 billion in 1986. But this positive balance was not enough to compensate for the still high expenditures for services and the goods and services deficit rose to 140.6 billion CFA francs in 1988 as against 97.9 billion CFA francs in 1987 and 315.3 billion in 1986.

Nevertheless, although the total balance-of-payments figure was slightly negative, it did show a sharp improvement. But once again, this deficit would have been much larger without the rescheduling of foreign public debt (102 billion CFA francs) payments. The financing of this

deficit was possible thanks to drawings on the International Monetary Fund (24.1 billion CFA francs) and withdrawals from the operations account, which was still in the red in 1988.

The committee also examined foreseeable development over the next few years. As regards its conclusions, it appears that the balance might attain a surplus figure, as indicated by the tendency that prevailed during the first half of 1989, which saw the operations account balance again become a slight credit balance. But the fact remains that this relative balance could not have been achieved without a rescheduling of the foreign debt payments, which will continue to be a burden on the total balance of payments. It should be emphasized that we can hope, but external factors like the cost of raw materials and fluctuations of the dollar must be taken into account.

Tanzania

* Britain's Aid To Spur Development Projects

34000202A Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English
25 Oct 89 p 5

[Article: "Britain Gives 3b/- to Tanzania"]

[Text] Tanzania and Britain yesterday signed an agreement under which the latter will provide pound sterling 13.19 million (3.04bn/-) for development projects.

The agreement was signed in Dar es Salaam by the Deputy Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Finance, Ndugu Anthony Makenya on behalf of the government and the British High Commissioner to Tanzania, Mr. Thorold Masefield.

Projects to be implemented include transport in which the British government has already provided pound sterling 8.4 million (Tshs. 1.9 bn/-) assistance to Tanzania Railways Corporation (TRC) between 1987 and 1988 for their Short Term Emergency Recovery Programme.

The agreement also includes assistance for agricultural projects. About pounds sterling 1.3 million (300m/-) has been allocated for the public administration sector, pound sterling 992,000 (Tshs. 228.5m/-) and mapping, pound sterling 1.4 million (Tshs. 276.5m/-).

A total of pounds sterling 1.3 million (Tshs. 300m/-) has been allocated for the programme of improving English proficiency at all levels of the formal education system in Zanzibar.

* MP's Urge Government To Fight Corruption

34000203B Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English
26 Oct 89 p 1

[Article from Mussa Lupatu in Dodoma: "MPs Urge Action on Swindlers"]

[Text] Members of Parliament [MPs] yesterday ignored other laws sought for amendment under the Written Laws Amendment Bill to pick on the co-operatives and blame the government for its inaction as billions of shillings were being stolen.

Proposing a wide-range of measures to rescue co-operative unions from the mess of debts, many MPs debating the Bill suggested immediate recording of union leaders' property for confiscation by the Government to recover the money.

Under the bill, the Co-operative Act of 1982 is sought for amendment to give powers to the Minister and regional commissioners to investigate affairs of co-operative societies and impose measures to control finances.

Ndugu Stephen Kahumbi (Nzega) said one of the factors leading to poor performance of societies was government

interference through the Registrar of Co-operatives who was the appointing authority of co-operative managements.

He said it was wrong for the Registrar to suspend elected leaders of unions when things were going wrong.

Representatives of the Registrar in the unions should, instead, be sacked because they were around when the mess happened.

He said the Government should set up a team to review the whole Co-operative Act to identify loop holes.

He said it was not enough to have another law on theft because the present one provided for this.

He said people who had purchased fictitious crops were known and that leaders were part of this through their acceptance of favours and gifts by union managements.

Ndugu Augustine Mrema (Moshi Rural) limited his contribution on the Tanzania Coffee Marketing Board, saying the Government had failed to act on cases of misappropriation despite the Board being a government agency.

He said the Board had failed to recover 1.66bn/- from its creditors despite the law providing for payment within seven days of coffee purchased from the Board at an auction market.

The Board had no record of its debtors, he said.

Ndugu Mrema gave various figures to prove his argument, citing some 758.9m/- which the Board should have recovered from people it owed but had failed for lack of records.

These things, he said, threatened national wellbeing and that unless Tanzanians changed their attitudes, no laws would wipe out thefts in the country.

Ndugu Nalaila Kiula (Iramba) said problems with the co-operatives were ignorance of the law on the part of members and the whole concept that unions belonged to members loss or profit was something they had to contend with, he added.

He suggested that people should declare their property before they got employment with societies to make things easier when cross checking how they had amassed wealth.

Ndugu Phares Kabuye (Biharamulo) was of the view that the Government, through the Bill, wanted to take over total control of unions. He warned that this would not work because regional commissioners, for example, had failed to control affairs of such institutions like regional trading companies and district councils.

Complaining about interference, Ndugu Kabuye urged the Government instead to investigate loss of money in

the unions, saying the probe should be extended to financial institutions as well because they were part of "the swindling game."

Ndugu Mbwete Hombee (Mbeya Rural) wondered what the anti-corruption unit was doing as people are amassing wealth from co-operative funds and were competing to buy property.

He suggested that a crackdown on co-operatives like the one done on racketeers and now Operation Uhai should be done to recover money stolen from the unions and societies.

He questioned the efficacy of the Registrar of Co-operatives who saw unions being swindled up to five billion of crop buying funds.

*** Possible Economic, Military Ties to East Viewed**

34000183B Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN* in English
24 Oct 89 p 7

[Text] The government's new attitude towards the Soviet Union has renewed speculation that South Africa would like to strengthen its ties with Eastern Bloc countries.

Limited trade between South Africa and Eastern Bloc countries is already taking place and some Soviet consumer goods can be found in South African shops.

These include four-wheel drive vehicles, tyres and food. The De Beers company also has an agreement with the Soviets on the sale of diamonds on the international market.

Sources in South Africa's arms industry have hinted for some time that they would like to expand the trade between it and the East to include arms and weapon systems.

Arms industry officials have already expressed the fear that the new peace initiatives in South and Southern Africa could cause President F. W. de Klerk's government to cut the Defence Budget.

This could have serious consequences especially for the South African Air Force which is badly in need of replacements for its aging fighter aircraft and helicopters.

Local programmes to manufacture fighters and helicopters have reached an advanced stage with the first locally manufactured attack helicopter expected to fly in the first half of the next decade.

Due to the capital expenditure needed for such projects, however, any cut in the Defence Budget could halt it or seriously delay it.

Despite the fact that Armscor has managed to upgrade the Mirage III fleet producing the Cheetah fighter aircraft, a further upgrading of the Cheetah would severely compromise its air safety.

Aviation sources say that while South Africa would be able to upgrade the avionics and weapons systems of these aircraft, the airframes would not stand any further modernisation.

This could leave South Africa without an air force by the beginning of the next century.

The West has consistently denied South Africa any new aircraft for its air force and sources said the only alternative would be to turn to the Eastern Bloc.

Earlier this month President De Klerk met with the Minister of Defence, Gen Magnus Malan, and senior Armscor officials at a secret venue in the Northern Transvaal.

While no official statement was released, observers say there is little doubt that this and the defence Budget was discussed.

*** Nigeria, Commonwealth Investigate Sanctions Bust**

34000884C Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English
2 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by Ian Hobbs]

[Text] London—The Nigerian government and the Commonwealth are investigating claims that Nigerian oil was sold to SA [South Africa] in a sanctions-busting operation using the Jamaican state-controlled oil company.

The investigation centres on the activities of one of the world's biggest commodities traders, Belgian-born Spanish national Marc Rich, allegedly a key middleman for SA's oil supplies.

Evidence that Nigerian oil was "daisy-chained" into SA is being sought by the influential Amsterdam-based and Dutch government supported anti-apartheid Group, the Shipping Research Bureau (SRB).

An SRB spokesman said: "Most of the information reaching us has come from Jamaica. We have passed all we know to the Nigerian government and they have told us there will be a thorough investigation. The Commonwealth is assisting and the Jamaican government is also investigating."

The latest SRB newsletter quotes reports from a Jamaican newspaper in September claiming that the Nigerian oil in question was purchased by the state-controlled Petroleum Corporation of Jamaica.

Jamaican PM Michael Manly, who was returned to power in February this year, told newspapers and an anti-apartheid organisation that the former government of Edward Seaga had had dealings with Marc Rich.

But Manly said he was unaware that Rich had SA oil connections and he said the dealings had been "valid and useful for Jamaica."

In Amsterdam, the SRB is gathering evidence suggesting that a sophisticated sanctions busting operation, using Jamaican cover for the purchase of Nigerian oil, was linked to the supply of Ecuadorian oil to SA—organised by billionaire Marc Rich.

• Sapa reports a spokesman for the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs said it was policy not to comment on reports on crude oil deliveries because of the provisions of the Petroleum Products Act.

*** COSATU Leaders Return From USSR**

34000175A Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 20-26 Oct 89 p 24

[First two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Trade unionists from various Cosatu affiliates visited the Soviet Union recently at the invitation of the labour movement there.

They spoke to NEW NATION about their visit.

[NEW NATION] What were your first impressions of the country and Soviet society?

[Trade Unionists] It was not significantly different from any others that we had visited. In fact it was much like Italy and Britain in some ways.

It is not the regimented society that we are made to believe it is. People dress in individual styles, shop where they want to and socialise as in any other country. When looking at the city itself, there is no great difference when compared to New York. Moscow, too, has its skyscrapers.

But it was very clear that workers in the Soviet Union wield a great deal of power and control over their lives—more than in any capitalist country, no matter how modified a version of capitalism it is.

[NEW NATION] How do workers view Perestroika? It has been projected as a move away from socialism and therefore from a worker controlled society.

[Trade Unionists] When we got to the USSR, Perestroika was already into its fourth year of implementation.

Workers are seeing Perestroika as having a democratising effect on their unions and on society as a whole. When I say democratising effect on the unions, what I mean is that the unions are being made more independent from state and party structures.

In the past, the party and state structures were too closely intertwined. Now Perestroika emphasises that trade unions must be independent of party and state structures. Even if party militants and party comrades have to be fully active in the unions in order to prevail in terms of ideology, the unions should remain independent.

Democratising Socialism

So the picture that we got was that Perestroika, far from being viewed as a major move away from socialism, should rather be viewed as an attempt to democratise socialism.

Workers admit that mistakes were made in the past, during the Stalinist era for example. But they are saying that these mistakes must be talked about so that they are not repeated.

Workers, through their trade unions, are also being given greater scope in making an input in the national plan.

There is also a decentralisation of power, which gives workers a greater say in how surplus money should be distributed. This is a move away from the over-centralisation at the top, where functionaries at a lower level simply implement the decisions of the top leadership.

Factories are also being changed to produce more consumer goods, of which there is a shortage. They used to concentrate on producing heavy machinery.

Worker Veto

In terms of giving workers greater power, a law was going to be passed, which would give workers the right to veto and law they did not like even if the law is made by the Supreme Soviet.

Trade unions already have representatives on the Supreme Soviet. So overall, workers see Perestroika as positive and necessary.

[NEW NATION] What were the reasons behind the recent strikes in the Soviet Union?

[Trade Unionists] You find a situation where the theory can be proper, the system can be proper, but you also find within this system that people can become bureaucrats and try to block progress.

And some of the strikes are actually caused by bureaucrats. Workers are revolting against bureaucrats. That's why workers have got a lot of support, even from (Mikhail) Gorbachev.

Kicked Out

While we were there, the prime minister of a Ukrainian republic was kicked out of the Soviet as a result of the demands workers were making.

The miners were also demanding the expulsion of the minister of mines because of his inefficiency.

There was a plenary session of the miners where this minister asked for an extension of time to sort out some of the problems.

A lot of people are losing their positions in trade unions as a result of the strikes, and militants from the mines and factories are being elected to replace them.

So there is no suppression of workers, as long as they come out openly.

[NEW NATION] But are workers striking against socialism?

[Trade Unionists] That's what we are told on TV, that people are disillusioned with socialism. But in the USSR people are saying: "No, socialism is fine, but we want socialism to come out this way."

The other thing we heard was that there are areas where people talk about forming their own communist parties, independent from the communist party of the Soviet Union.

Satisfied

But it is clear that people are satisfied with socialism.

One trade union official explained that socialism did stagnate during a certain period. But he also said that when socialism is suppressed, it is like a spring that is being compressed. And when the spring is released, it will jump up and down until it returns to its normal position. That is what Perestroika has done to the Soviet society. The strikes are also a manifestation of this released energy after years of suppression.

One thing that we would like to point out is that strikes in capitalist countries cannot be compared to strikes in socialist states.

The major reason why there are strikes in capitalist countries is because of exploitation, whereas in socialist states they happen because of bureaucracies and a lack of communication.

[NEW NATION] Are you saying that workers in the Soviet Union still have confidence in Socialism?

[Trade Unionists] Yes. There is no anticapitalist propaganda in the USSR. This is a clear measure of the confidence that they have in socialism.

They are quite open about their problems. They also point out that they are the pioneers of socialism, and add that part of socialism is to acknowledge problems so that you don't repeat them.

[NEW NATION] As trade unionists, what can you say about the Soviet economy?

[Trade Unionists] The Soviets are quite proud that there is no unemployment in their country. We never saw any beggars either.

Their working day is eight hours, and in the colder parts of the country, people only work for 157 days a year.

There have been no bread price increases in the last 30 years. Public transport fares are the equivalent of five cents in the city. You could travel anywhere in the city on that fare.

What was interesting was that price changes cannot be effected without union support. Trade unions have to be consulted and their support canvassed before prices can be changed.

Rent is worked out as a percentage of a worker's wage. Education and health care is free.

[NEW NATION] Can you talk about the collective farms and factories and explain how production is organised in these concerns?

[Trade Unionists] We were not able to get inside the factory that we visited because of the nature of the product they produce, which is artificial diamonds, so we cannot really describe how they organise production in their factories.

But from the conversations we had, it was clear that workers were involved in the actual running of the factories. They told us, for example, that while they were members of a trade union, there was no management-worker type relationship because workers, in fact, were the management.

They also told us that trade unions were more concerned about profits because profits represent the wealth of the workers.

Profits to the Community

In the case of the farm, workers use the profits from surplus they produce to build houses and sports and cultural centres for the community. An entire suburb adjacent to the farm was built from profits generated by the farm.

The farm, like all other enterprises, has an agreement with the state whereby a certain percentage of the produce has to be sold to the state. The surplus that is left can be sold to benefit the farm, which has to be run on a viable basis.

The surplus generated is therefore ploughed back into the farm and the community. So the farm carries itself. The farm is also owned by the community and people from the community work on the farm.

*** ANC Leader Mpetha Criticizes De Klerk**

34000173C Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN* in English
23 Oct 89 p 2

[Text] Cape Town—Freed African Nationalist Congress [ANC] leader Oscar Mpetha said yesterday the State President, Mr F.W. de Klerk's "hands had the blood of the people on them and negotiations could not begin until he had washed them clean."

Mr Mpetha was addressing about 8,000 people at a welcome home rally in the Nyanga Stadium in Cape Town.

The 80-year-old unionist and former ANC office-bearer, one of the group of political prisoners released last week, also said the armed struggle should continue as long as the South African regime remained fully armed.

He shared the platform with what was virtually the entire executive of the ANC in the Western Cape before the organisation was banned, as well as representatives of more recently formed organisations.

Mr Mpetha, whose leg was amputated while in prison, gave his speech from a sitting position in a chair flanked by an ANC banner and the Red Flag, while ANC flags were spread over the groundstand.

He said Mr de Klerk should first give recognition to the ANC's military political prisoners, unban the ANC and other organisations and release all the people in jail who belonged to those organisations.

"He must allow back all those who fled into exile because they were harassed by the South African regime. Then only can he say: 'Mpetha and those leaders who were recently released, you can come and start talking.'

"If he hasn't done those things his hands are still bloodied.

"While I am talking to you there are members of these organisations waiting to be hanged, awaiting trial on charges of being members of the ANC."

Mr Mpetha said he had been misquoted by the Press on a message he had relayed from Mr Mandela.

The impression had been given that he had said the people should stop the struggle.

"The Press misquoted me as saying that I wanted to disarm the youth. I never said such things.

"I cannot at any stage while the South African is fully armed tell the people's army to disarm.

Mr Mpetha said the violence in South Africa was initiated by the government when it allowed its army to shoot at the people.

The violence had not stopped.

"The graves are full of victims of the police."

He quoted Chief Albert Luthuli as saying that liberation depended not on the oppressor but entirely on the oppressed.

"The time has come—you are saying to the oppressor enough is enough."

Mr Mpetha, who was president of the ANC in the Western Cape in 1959, was presented with a wreath of yellow carnations before he spoke and wore them throughout his speech.

He spoke in Xhosa and his words were translated into English.

Across the road from the stadium, blue uniformed special constables with shotguns manned a sandbag emplacement on the roof of the Nyanga police station and stood in a line at the main entrance.

* De Klerk, Stals Setting Pace of Leadership

34000200C Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL
in English 20 Oct 89 pp 26-27

[Text] Since F.W. de Klerk became president, changes—many of them breathtakingly dramatic—have been clustering into the forefront of public consciousness. Out of

a genuine determination to reform, the new administration is laying out its bona fides. Thus, we have seen the release of major ANC [African National Congress] and PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] prisoners, mass marches under flags including the hammer and sickle, and a deep questioning of the role of the police.

We have also seen a steely upward ratcheting of interest rates. This has more in common with the above-mentioned events than may be immediately apparent.

For to link monetary policy to political reform is vital—reform without a sound economic base, or movement towards it, is doomed to failure. This was argued in the past, not least by the late governor of the Reserve Bank, Gerhard de Kock. But, whereas in the P W-De Kock era, sensible economic policies were pushed aside for political expediency, the F W-Stals team has quickly shown itself to be made of sterner stuff.

Clearly, De Klerk's style is most evident in politics. Commentators expected him to adopt a more civilian mode of government—but the events around the release of political prisoners, amounting to the provisional unbanning of the ANC, illustrate the surprisingly rapid waning influence of Botha's securocrats who dominated the political scene for more than a decade.

Nor is it surprising that De Klerk should move first on the political front. Protest marches and the well-heralded release of political prisoners make far bigger headlines abroad (and have far greater impact on Margaret Thatcher and George Bush) than fiddling about with fiscal policy; and De Klerk, presumably advised by Pik Botha and Foreign Affairs Director-General Neil van Heerden, has quickly shown an appreciation of the need to capitalise on a (perhaps temporary) more conciliatory international climate.

At the weekend, De Klerk met Magnus Malan and high-ranking SADF [South African Defense Forces] generals—the president is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The likelihood is that he briefed them on why he is making his latest decisions and choices. In small ways as well as in big, militarism is being rejected—though no reformer can survive without the support of the armed forces.

De Klerk can be expected to spread his wings further as he gains confidence. Insiders believe, for example, that Van Heerden may assume duties as De Klerk's chief adviser in Tuynhuys. If so, he will replace the former high-ranking prisons official, Jannie Roux. Symbolism again? Yes, but not only that.

As even his enemies and sceptics now seem willing to concede, De Klerk seems intent on getting the negotiation process off the ground. Negotiations about what? Black representation in central government and democratic institutions, including an effective bill of rights, in one form or another.

Here, most are familiar with a reciprocal problem of "non-negotiables" (though the point of negotiation is not to preclude anything). These are, on government's side, the insistence on group rights; on the ANC's, an unwillingness to forswear the armed struggle as a precondition to talks.

And yet, one by one, preconditions are being waived—or met. This week, Pretoria's head negotiator, Gerrit Viljoen, said he was prepared to talk to Walter Sisulu and the other ex-prisoners, whose banning restrictions have been lifted. He adopted no significant pre-emptive negotiating stance. And the armed struggle has waned—perhaps as a result of a policy decision by the ANC (see Current Affairs).

Nonetheless, a senior Cabinet minister admits to the FM that the gap of mistrust between government and black leaders remains virtually unbridgeable—though just a little further down the line events could change that.

In recent discussions with the respected black U.S. Republican diplomat, Allan Keys, SA [South Africa] diplomats were told that Pretoria should pressure other negotiating parties by removing all restrictions on political association. The timing and manner of the release of the Rivonia trialists and a leading Pan Africanist—with Nelson Mandela almost certain to follow, most likely in the new year—suggests a trial run for precisely that.

But with the Right fuming—consider what the white miner in Witbank must think when he sees the Rivonia men on TV—can De Klerk deliver?

For the Left, that to some extent depends on a willingness to compromise, to abandon the fiercer manifestations of anti-apartheid shibboleths. Japhta Masemola, the only PAC figure released this week, said De Klerk had so far backed up his position with action. But, looking at the Right, he added that reform could succeed only "if he does not make P.W. Botha's mistake of looking over his shoulder at conservative whites all the time."

Fortunately, right now, the Conservatives (and, it has to be noted, the Democrats) hardly figure on the political agenda. It is still early in the day—but there appears to be a willingness to ignore the antiquated arguments coming from the CP's Andries Treurnicht, who has become a whinger. De Klerk has made the crucial choice which hampered his predecessor for too long.

In De Klerk's redefinition of the political centre, he is being spurred on by looming security problems. As the latest Idasa newsletter, *Democracy in Action*, warns, this urgency is highlighted by growing realisation on the Right that it cannot win electorally; and that "as this sinks in, it is more than likely that elements on the Right will resort to increased hostility and violence."

Reform, by definition, risks social turmoil. But social turmoil can seem to abrogate the urgency of reform—which is what happened in the mid-Eighties, leading to

Botha's withdrawal from the reformist path he once pledged himself to. It's equally true, though, that empty bellies feed frustration and revolution. When the linkage between political and economic reform means immobility on both fronts—as happened in P W's final years—a vicious circle of political inactivity and economic stagnation can set in.

Nor was it by any means coincidental that P W's political about-face went hand in hand with a return to fiscal and monetary policy designed to keep securocrats and the civil service in the comfort they came to expect in the Nationalists' four decades of power. Recession—as a public ogre feeding on unrest—again took precedence over inflation, ignoring the deeper truth that, in the long run, inflation actually guaranteed even worse recession.

For this reason alone, the recent increase in Bank rate restores a measure of credibility. Having, under the new governor, stated that it would target inflation, it stuck to its guns. However rough the ride ahead, SA must recover its growth potential and its confidence. Nothing erodes economic confidence more than the vacillations of Pretoria.

Perhaps the most appalling instance came in March 1988, when—as part of a great PR campaign against inflation—P.W. Botha pledged to hold public servants' salaries static for a year. A rise was announced six months later. This confirmed the widely held view that political will was no match for inflation.

But this was no isolated case. Blundering away from reform, unable to keep any kind of promise, government generated a range of negative expectations—about inflation, about the strength of the rand, about policy. Attempts to come to grips with problems were immediately subverted by sceptical public perceptions of the course of events.

One manifestation of this is the stubborn growth in imports over the past year in the face of a sliding rand over much of that period, steadily rising interest rates and import surcharges of up to 60 percent. People simply expected the rand to decline further and took rational action accordingly.

Then there was the continuing growth in money supply. Given low capital inflows, this came largely from domestic credit creation—people will continue to borrow if they are convinced that servicing debt is cheaper than delaying a purchase.

For this reason, the increase in Bank rate, from 17 percent to 18 percent—presumably backed by De Klerk and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis—is as important in its way as big, startling political events.

The new governor did what he said he'd do: act against inflation. He did so with support from the top.

Interestingly, the market did not anticipate the rise—thanks to previous experiences. Even those who saw the need for higher rates and who closely monitor the Bank's

activity and scrutinise its statements did not expect a development just yet. They were considering the possibility of an increase some time in November—perhaps.

Others did not foresee any further rise in interest rates. Many seasoned commentators said rates had peaked and the next move would be down. Yet the portents were clear.

Immediately on taking office, Stals said he would make inflation his priority. Several announcements to this effect were qualified only by references to the encouraging apparent decline in money supply growth over a period of months and an equally encouraging export performance which allayed concerns over a balance of payments deficit.

Recently, however, there was a substantial upward revision of money supply figures (blamed on inaccurate returns by a leading commercial bank). This was followed by a second successive decline in the surplus of the current account of the balance of payments in the second quarter. And reserves, though reasonably stable, were only R5,3bn at end-September, which, says Bank Senior Deputy Governor Japie Jacobs, wouldn't be enough if we are faced with an adverse build-up in leads and lags.

The final straw was a round of interest rate increases in trading partner countries.

Yet, still the Bank rate increase took the market by surprise. Simply, it's not yet realised that this government seems prepared to back talk with action.

The lesson could be salutary. If Stals can convince the nation he's serious about bringing inflation down, people may be prepared to delay spending, think twice before borrowing...and even consider saving.

What they need to know is that they will not be eternally trapped between high interest rates and rising inflation. When they see policy statements followed by policy measures, followed by results—a decline in the rate of inflation—they will begin to behave rationally again.

To link economic policy with political events is thus not to make a frivolous connection. It is out of a commitment to free enterprise and privatisation, deregulation and the opening up of educational opportunities that reform in its most enduring sense arises. This is why it is so essential that clear and decisive leadership must permeate all fields of government—and in these early days of the De Klerk presidency it is doing so.

* Du Plessis Discusses Effects of Sanctions

34000181B Johannesburg THE STAR in English
6 Oct 89 p 14

[Article by Bruce Cameron]

[Text] South Africa is involved in a programme of inward industrialisation in a "slow and painful" process

to change the structure of the economy established over 300 years to beat the effects of sanctions.

Spelling out the effects of economic sanctions at the meeting of the World Affairs Council in Munich this week, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis said they would result in an economy that "will eventually be able to yield more growth with less dependence on the balance of payments."

In a copy of his speech released in Cape Town, Mr du Plessis gave the most comprehensive account yet of the problems and details of sanctions as well as the solutions proposed by the Government.

He described the pressure on the balance of payments caused by capital outflow as one of the most serious effects of sanctions.

It was responsible for the annual growth rate declining from 3.5 percent from 1875 to 1981 to about 1 percent from 1982 to 1988.

This held serious long-term implications not only for the economic development of South Africa but also for the programme of social and political reform.

"At the present rate of economic growth, which is far less than the rate of increase in the total population, averaging living standards are declining, poverty is increasing and unemployment rising."

Trade and Financial

He divided sanctions into two sections—trade and financial.

- Financial sanctions were being applied in various forms; from the disinvestment or withdrawal by multinationals, which reached a peak in 1987, to the "more visible adverse effect" of the withdrawal of short and long-term finance, which led to the unilateral declaration of a debt standstill in August 1985.

When South Africa declared the standstill the country's repayable foreign debt amounted to R64,8 billion (\$24 billion).

Only R37,8 billion (\$14 billion) was placed under restriction with the balance not affected.

Since the interim agreements on the repayment of the loans South Africa's foreign debt had been reduced to R56,7 billion (\$21 billion) in terms of current exchange rates but to R48,6 billion (\$18 billion) in terms of the August 1985 exchange rates.

Mr du Plessis said it was difficult to assess the real effect of disinvestment by foreign or multinational companies. Because of blocked rands which could not be withdrawn from the country and the financial rand however, the South Africa balance of payments was not directly affected by disinvestment transactions.

Advantages were that the multinational institutions had been bought up locally at relatively cheap prices while no important foreign operations were closed down nor were people laid off.

"The adverse effect of the disinvestment campaign...has therefore been one of psychological nature."

He conceded however that there could be long-term effects because of the loss of direct links to technology, know-how and financial resources.

Another adverse financial sanction was the aggravation of South Africa's foreign exchange liquidity problem by restrictions placed by the United States Congress on assistance through the facilities of the International Monetary fund.

- Trade sanctions were of a dual nature with restrictions placed either on the imports of essential goods or on exports.

In some cases selective trade sanctions were being cynically applied on products, such as agricultural products that were in over supply on the world market or they were being ardently supported by countries who happened to be major competitors of South Africa.

The embargo on certain goods was in some respects a "blessing in disguise" providing a stimulus in domestic investment, especially in oil (Sasol), chemical electronics and weapons industries.

But they also had social and macro-economic costs such as forcing the country to invest large sums in strategic stock piles, such as oil.

The amount of "scarce capital" locked up in the strategic stockpile programme could have been used to improve living conditions of low income groups.

Efforts to restrict exports from South Africa had "perhaps met with less success."

South Africa's total exports other than gold in volume terms (excluding price and exchange rate effects) increased 7.5 percent last year and at a seasonally adjusted rate of 16 percent for the first half of this year.

Apart from the current account of the balance of payments being in surplus for the past five years—even during the recent business cycle upswing when imports increased to meet increased domestic demand—total exports remained ahead of total imports.

Solutions

The major facets to the solution to the problems caused by sanctions lay in:

- The strengthening of the balance of payments by discouraging imports and encouraging exports by depreciating the rand.

- Consolidating foreign debt by reducing the amount outstanding as well as stretching repayment over a longer period.
- Encouraging domestic saving and discouraging spending.
- Greater discipline on government expenditure. Increases in the deficit before borrowing looked as if it would be reduced to less than 3 percent of the gross domestic product in the current fiscal year compared with the 5.7 percent of two years ago.
- The new labour dispensation which had liberalised the labour market with huge amounts allocated for training and education of the labour force.
- The new urbanisation policy.
- Deregulation and the stimulation of the informal sector, particularly amongst the black community.
- Privatisation.

Mr du Plessis warned that economic restructuring through the market system would take time, patience and lots of discipline.

* OFS University Approves Nonracial Dorms

34010061C Cape Town *DIE BURGER in Afrikaans*
27 Sep 89 p 25

[Text] The Council of the University of the Orange Free State (CUOFS) has decided in principle to abolish the restrictions on colored students residing in dormitories on campus. The rector, Prof Francois Retief, has been authorized, in consultation with the CUOFS Executive Committee, to put these policy revisions into effect as quickly as possible. Our correspondent in Bloemfontein reports that this was the substance of a statement issued by CUOFS following a meeting the day before yesterday in Bloemfontein. To bring the matter to a close, all groups, insofar as possible, will be called upon to implement the resolution of the Council that an orderly and happy campus should be striven for.

Climate

Discussions will be conducted with all interest groups and student leaders for the purpose of creating the proper climate and of pursuing initiatives that have already begun. Prof J.A. de Bruyn, vice rector (administration) of the University of Stellenbosch, the first Afrikaans university that decided to integrate its dormitories, characterized the decision of the Free State University as significant.

Petitions

Our office in Stellenbosch reports that the University of Stellenbosch Council decided in principle in June to throw open the students' dormitories to all races. According to Professor de Bruyn, University of Stellenbosch authorities had petitioned the minister of national education quite some time ago for integration of dormitories. While applications for residence in the dormitories have already been closed out, no announcement has been made as yet. "We hope that we are going to receive permission (from the minister) as soon as possible to go

forward," Professor de Bruyn said. According to him, applications for residence in dormitories merits consideration with due allowance for student's first choice. "Seniors get preference, and the decisive factor is the availability of places in each dormitory. Depending upon the popularity of the dormitory of his or her choice, students sometimes cannot be placed."

Leaders

Goldfields, the only dormitory where coloreds already live, has already developed a character and tradition of its own, according to Professor de Bruyn. They do not expect that many of Goldfield's residents are going to apply to be transferred. A request to open up all the dormitories simultaneously was made to the rector, Prof Mike de Vries, at a recent closed campus meeting of University of Stellenbosch student leaders. The proposal was accepted by the overwhelming majority of the leaders, among whom were chairmen of student political party chapters and organizations. According to reports, only the student chapter of the Conservative Party was opposed—it proposed a referendum on the matter.

* Rise in Number of Journalists Arrested Noted

34000172B Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English
19 Oct 89 p 9

[Article by Kaizer Nyatumba]

[Text] An unprecedented number of journalists were arrested at scenes of unrest or protest in September, while the number of criminal investigations and prosecutions against journalists also increased significantly, according to the Anti-Censorship Action Group (Acag).

In its latest monthly update, Acag said the arrest of 52 journalists during a Cape Town demonstration on September 2 "must have been one of the biggest swoops on media people," and pointed out that journalists in the Western Cape were constantly being arrested and harassed by police at scenes of unrest or protest.

"The number of journalists who fell victim to this increased Security Force vigilance totalled over 100 (in September).

"At the same time, the number of criminal investigations and prosecutions against journalists increased significantly, strengthening the belief that these are not isolated actions but part of a systematic attempt to use the courts to turn opposition journalists into criminals and enforce emergency control," said Acag.

This, according to Acag, also contrasted sharply with "an unexpected boost" received in the same month by freedom of speech, when the Government allowed a number of marches to take place.

Said Acag: "Anybody who supports the call for less censorship and more freedom of speech could not but

feel heartened by the rare sight of so many South Africans expressing their political views so publicly, so freely and so peacefully."

The group said the apparent change in policy was partial and short-lived, "leading to much skepticism about the extent of the Government's new commitment to openness".

While some marches were allowed, Acag pointed out, others were banned and prevented from taking place, leading to confrontations.

"The lesson was clear: if the Security Forces kept a low profile, these marches would be joyful and peaceful expressions of freedom; if they interfered, the situation would quickly return to the old style of conflict and repression."

- * Acag was formed in 1986 by individuals and organizations concerned about censorship.

* Opposition Groups Differ in Goals, Tactics

34000178B Johannesburg *SUNDAY STAR* in English
22 Oct 89 p 19

[Article by David Breier: "Main Foes of Government Differ on Goals and Tactics"]

[Text] Possible future negotiations with the South African [SA] Government have become a major source of dispute between various forces engaged in the anti-apartheid struggle.

As negotiation politics becomes less of an impossible dream, the issue is assuming major proportions, analysts believe.

It is an important difference between the two major extra-parliamentary groupings, says Mr Mark Swilling of the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits University.

The Mass Democratic Movement [MDM], including the United Democratic Front and Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] who accept the Freedom Charter, support the negotiating formula adopted recently by the African National Congress [ANC] and the Organisation of African Unity.

This states that negotiation with the Government could take place only if it released all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally, lifted all bans and restrictions on organisations and people, removed all troops from the townships, ended the State of Emergency, scrapped laws such as the Internal Security Act which curtailed political activity, and ceased all "political trials and political executions".

This week, following the release of eight political prisoners, the Government's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, said the Government was looking at some preconditions and was prepared to discuss others.

Return of Land the Main Issue

But while the ANC and the MDM have a position on negotiation, various groups on the other side including the Pan Africanist Congress [PAC], Azapo [Azanian People's Organization], Nactu [National Council of Trade Unions] and the Cape Action League, do not regard a negotiated settlement as an issue.

For them the return of the land to the black majority and the establishment of a proletarian socialist state is the goal.

But as the OAU accepts the ANC position, the PAC has been left in the cold.

Mr Swilling said the differences between the ANC and the PAC had gone much further than the reasons for the PAC breakaway from the ANC 30 years ago.

Back in 1959, ANC members had objected to the role of white liberals and communists in the organisation, split away to form the PAC.

But today the differences between the ANC and PAC had broadened and included issues such as negotiation, Mr Swilling said.

The core organisations in the MDM and ANC were committed to a broad anti-apartheid front that would include everybody irrespective of their colour.

And they believed there should be a negotiated settlement on constitutional rights.

On the other side, the PAC and related organisations opposed a broad anti-apartheid front that included whites and liberals.

They believed a negotiated settlement was not an issue, but the return of the land to the black majority was.

Within the PAC and related organisations, there were severe tensions, Mr Swilling said.

Only Some Will Work With Whites

Among them were Trotskyites, Africanists and the black consciousness (BC) groups.

The Trotskyites were Marxists, but opposed to the SA Communist Party. The Africanists were more orthodox African nationalists primarily loyal to the PAC and who were prepared to have certain working relationships with whites.

The BC groups were loyal to Azapo and the philosophies of Mr Steve Biko who died in police detention in 1977.

They were more sophisticated black Marxist-Leninists who were not prepared to work with whites.

The trade union movement Nactu was an amalgam of these forces.

On the other hand the differences in the MDM camp were far less severe, Mr Swilling said.

There were socialist, nationalist and liberal groups with an "agreed recognition of differences".

There were attempts recently by SA Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, to persuade the ANC and PAC in exile to form a common front, but this failed.

However internally there was quite a lot of contact. Nactu had joined Cosatu in recent mass marches and earlier this year the two held a joint workers summit.

The proposed Congress for a Democratic Future in December was due to involve both MDM and BC/Africanist elements.

Mr Swilling described the rapprochement as a recognition of the need for a joint effort without giving up their identity or attempting to collapse their differences in a single front.

* 'Support the Police' Petition Circulating

34000192B Pretoria PATRIOT in English
13 Oct 89 p 11

[Text] The recent decision by the Attorney General to prosecute two policemen for "brutality" has left many South Africans with a bad taste in their mouths; they are depressed because both Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak, who continuously and illegally advocate sanctions against South Africa, have not yet been prosecuted by the Attorney General.

Many white South Africans wonder which law will not be applied next; advocating sanctions is supposed to be illegal as is advocating boycotts. Yet Black activists throughout the country push for sanctions and boycotts at whim and with impunity, and no action is taken against them.

The South African police are a particularly vulnerable target. [passage missing] Instead, policemen are the hapless victims of vilification, criticism and insults in the pages of our newspapers and on our streets, the very streets they are asked to protect with their lives.

Our police are our country's last line of defence against anarchy. With an immobilised police force, the revolution can proceed apace and it would appear that this is what will happen over the next six to nine months in South Africa [SA].

With a police force rendered ineffective through, inter alia, lavishly-funded court actions against them, and through lack of government support, South Africa is being reduced to a state of political impotence, a state which could leave the SA revolutionaries free to topple the SA government. How long will State President F.W. de Klerk allow the militants to literally do as they please,

at the same time hobbling the police force, thus creating resentment and disillusionment within the ranks?

Denigration

Our police are the subject of denigration at every turn, either through the press or the courts. Further, the government recently abolished the position of Deputy Minister of Law and Order, a slap in the face to the police. Yet we expect the police to continue defending us, unflinchingly, to risk their lives, to put up with baiting insults and physical assault.

What would happen if the police went on strike? The pay they receive is an insult. For the risks they take, they receive around R33 a day.

Conservative Party supporters should make it a duty to let the police know they support the police; petitions have been launched to show solidarity with the police. It is intended to hold a "Support the SAP [South African Police]" day shortly.

Start your own petition to the State President. It should read as follows: "We, the undersigned, hereby declare that we wholeheartedly support the South African Police in their difficult duties and in their efforts as the last line of defense against anarchy.

"We petition the government to support the SA Police and we ask that their salaries be increased immediately as an urgent step towards increasing their numbers in the light of the dangerous times in which we live."

* White Inaction Toward Integration Condemned

34000192D Pretoria PATRIOT in English
6 Oct 89 p 10

[Text] Many English-speaking conservatives have contacted PATRIOT and voiced their concern about the continuing integration of South African life.

The marches which have taken place so soon after the NP [National Party]'s election win have unnerved many voters who perceive a creeping paralysis within the NP to stand up to anyone, be they hunger strikers, marchers, Soweto rent payers (or non-payers), recalcitrant Coloured police lieutenants and of course the British and American governments.

Many readers have come to the conclusion that it is time for conservatives to lay claim to the areas of South Africa [SA] where the Conservative Party [CP] holds the majority vote. Many feel that if the NP is left unhindered to run its five-year plan course, integration will be so entrenched in the SA way of life as well as ingrained in the SA psyche that it may be well nigh impossible to unscramble the mess.

Examples

Examples of this integration and its consequences abound. The NP propounded the theory about the

"Black middle class" which was to be the buffer against the revolution once this class had been brought into the mainstream of a white south African way of life. "Contact" organisations have mushroomed aplenty and the South African media, particularly the state-controlled SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation], blatantly and obliquely encourages a multi-racial way of life.

The recent marches throughout White South Africa by mainly Coloured and Black demonstrators prompted angry and antagonistic reactions from Whites; in some cases this reaction was violent.

As Afrikaners in particular see their parks and their monuments treated with contempt, more and more feel that if they can get no support from the government to protect what is theirs, they must simply lay claim to what they believe is their part of White South Africa, and eventually set up a government in those areas, make their own laws and try to work out some sort of future where they will not disappear as a "minority group" in this Black continent.

It will be virtually impossible to safeguard White interests in present-day South Africa if the police force and defence force are fully integrated. Hundreds of Lt. Rockmans can be expected to pop up when they witness actions which they perceive as being against "their" people. If the defence force is integrated to the extent where there will eventually be more Blacks than Whites, how could one defend South Africa if Black soldiers decide that the South Africa which they are supposed to defend is not the South Africa they want?

Standards

Standards of behaviour differ. Blacks in Soweto consider it morally defensible to defer paying their rentals and electricity because they perceive that they are being "overcharged" because they receive what they consider to be low wages.

But a First World economy cannot be run on these principles. Rates cannot be charged on what people can afford but on what it costs to provide the services necessary to keep the system going. How can one possibly hope to reconcile these two trains of thought in a unitary state? Is it not better to have a First World economy and a Third World economy, one helping the other with advice, the other helping with labour, than to mix the two?

For example, the government introduced the Foreign Funding Disclosure Act in order to monitor the funds which enter South Africa from overseas to keep the myriad anti-government organizations at present operating in South Africa afloat.

"We won't obey" said the Kagiso Trust at the beginning of September when they openly defied the ruling and challenged the government to do something about it. The trustees of the Kagiso Trust are high-profile activists

such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches and Dr. Beyers Naud, among others.

Money for this "trust" comes from Britain and West Germany who have threatened more sanctions if anything is done to the trust.

Racism

As organisations become integrated, Blacks cry "racism" if they are not promoted, or if their behaviour or performances are not up to scratch. Even the hapless Red Cross is under fire; what started out as a First World organisation with years of excellent service to the world community behind it has now been reduced to a travesty because it took on people who are not at one with the First World principles upon which the organisation was founded.

Today in South Africa everyone is a racist who dares criticise Black performance, or who does not "Africanise" an organisation quickly enough.

Blacks sense power based on government weakness, and their demands for "equality" are growing more and more strident. The "unitary state" concept in practice is a failure; what is good for the goose is not necessarily good for the gander.

Blacks want to partake in "free enterprise," yet call for protectionism in just about every field. Many Black taxi owners used Whites to buy taxis on hire purchase because they themselves were unable to obtain credit. Having received the taxis, they now complain that Whites have "taken over" the taxi industry.

Our First World legal system is under fire from the anti-apartheid groups; our churches have been turned into political cockpits; our courts are used to upend laws which were created to protect White facilities and residential areas; our theatre has been turned into a continual whine of protest against White society; our schools are now "open" with the curriculae being questioned as "irrelevant" to a post-apartheid society.

Words

Words have no meaning anymore; squatters are called "informal settlers" and pavement selling is called "deregulation." Our hospitals are chaotic and it is often risky to be a patient. It is dangerous to travel on suburban trains. One cannot walk at night, crime is on the increase and we are taxed into oblivion to pay for the ever-increasing Third World which continues to swamp our cities, our facilities, our parks and our monuments.

Is it not time we said: so far and no further?! These are our areas and we claim them as our own. Those who want to live in a White society where the standards are dictated by First World norms must decide to join the conservatives. Those who are content with multi-racialism, and are prepared to pay for it must stay where they are.

It is a thought which is attracting more and more adherents. For those who think it far fetched, think of the alternative!

* White Ambiguity Toward Desegregation Seen

34000192C Pretoria *PATRIOT* in English
6 Oct 89 p 11

[Text] The recent decision by the Johannesburg City Council's Management Committee to open all facilities to all races, based on a "poll" which they conducted among ratepayers, shows up the ambiguity in the thinking of many White South Africans about apartheid.

Most of them would say they "abhor" the word and what it represents. Most of them consider themselves moderate, reasonable people who do not mind a Black family moving in next door "if they can afford it and if they behave themselves and maintain the same standards as the rest of the street."

How many times have we heard that on the canvassing beat! Yet these very same people would be quick to sell their homes if more than 10 percent of their street went Black. They want varying degrees of apartheid as evidenced by the replies which were received by the Manco to the Council's questionnaires which were sent out to all Johannesburg ratepayers.

How the NP [National Party]-controlled council can say the "poll" was democratic, defies description. In a 35 percent poll, 43,842 White voters were in favour of open recreation centres and 41,033 against; 49,547 backed mixed buses to 37,607 against. Yet 46,104 opposed mixed swimming pools with less than 40,000 in favour.

One of the strangest facts to emerge from the survey was the number of NP wards which came out against desegregation. These people actually voted for CP [Conservative Party] policy while they put their crosses next to a National Party candidate's name last October.

These voters must surely realise that the decision to open the facilities is the National Party's decision. If they don't like this decision, what are these voters going to do now? Call for another election with the NP fighting on an integration ticket?

Southern

The NP-controlled southern suburbs gave a blanket thumbs-down to mixed facilities yet they elected three very liberal personages to Parliament: Mrs. Shiela Camerer (Rosettenville), Mr. Andr Fourie (Turffontein) and Dr. Johan Vilonel (Langlaagte). Will these voters now pin these MP [Member of Parliament]'s down on their opinions about integration?

This poll which can hardly be called democratic (only 18 percent of the total number of Johannesburg ratepayers want open facilities) makes a mockery of the NP's cry that it is "broadening democracy." And surely the voters

who put the NP parliamentarians back into power realised the full implications of the NP's statements that the party was "moving away from discrimination."

Herein lies the nub of the communications gap which is so prevalent in White South Africa; it also reflects how the NP has managed to hoodwink thousands upon thousands of voters through newspapers and the TV which it controls.

If the NP had stated clearly and concisely before the September election that it intended opening all facilities in Johannesburg, it is a cert that the three southern Nat MP's would never have been returned to Parliament. The NP's dishonesty is simply mind-boggling.

Awareness

Such is the state of politics in South Africa today, and such is the lack of awareness of the average White voter. He seems unable to make the quantum leap from step one (sharing of facilities) to step two (sharing of schools) to step three (sharing of municipal councils) to step four (sharing of central government). In the final analysis, there would be a natural takeover because of the numbers involved. Can these voters not see this?

It is a tragedy that so many Whites are the hapless victims of media distortion and omission. It can be fairly said that if the CP had had control of the television and the press over the past year or so, it would be the government today.

* New Faces in Corridors of Power Viewed

34000174B Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English
22 Oct 89 p 26

[Article by Dries van Heerden]

[Text] There's a fresh and brotherly wind blowing through the corridors of power as the new De Klerk establishment starts to consolidate its grip on south African politics.

Already patent is that the novelty will not stop at the visual effects—off with the homburgs and back to the barracks for the State President's Guard—but will extend to the tenor of thought and to the personnel involved.

The salient features are already evident:

- The return of the Afrikaner Broederbond—now a potent force for verligheid—as a major power behind the scenes;
- A northwards shift in influence away from the Stellenbosch establishment towards a Johannesburg-Stellenbosch-Bloemfontein axis;
- A greater reliance on academics to assist in drawing up blueprints for the future;
- The growth of a "kitchen cabinet"—an inner circle of De Klerk confidants to act as a sounding board for new ideas;

- The decline of the Securocrats and the rise of the Econocrats.

It's a case of Goodbye General...hello professor.

One thing seems certain—the traditional Afrikaner establishment will cut more mustard in the new era than it did during the era of Botha's imperial court.

For one thing, we need to abandon knee-jerk perceptions of Broeders as conspiratorial fellows wearing white hoods and chanting political mantras. Those days are past; the AB [Afrikaner Broederbond] is no longer the ogre many imagined it to be.

Under the able leadership of former RAU [Ranid Afrikaans University] rector, Professor Pieter de Lange, it has moved into the vanguard of Afrikaner political thinking. It has become—in boere metaphor—the *touleier* rather than the *remskoen*.

In recent years it was the Broederbond that paved the way for the three-chamber Parliament, which first raised the possibility of "open groups" and freedom of association; and which is now releasing trial balloons on black participation in government. Small steps for the majority of South Africans, maybe, but giant leaps for Afrikanerdom.

Under P.W. Botha the AB lacked real clout. He was a member, but never served on the executive as did John Vorster. The hub of Broeder power has always been the Transvaal and Botha was a Cape man first and foremost.

Painful

But F.W. de Klerk—a member since 1964—is much more attuned to contemporary Afrikaans thought and is therefore better equipped to inspan the AB as an instrument for change and to canvass new ideas among members of the Afrikaner establishment.

The election has driven home a painful truth to the National Party—the glue that bonded it for so long to the Afrikaner intelligentsia and the new generation of young intellectuals is in danger of becoming unstuck.

In the new *rapprochement* between party and support groups the affable Professor De Lange will play an important role. His credentials are impeccable. His relations with the new constitutional guru, Dr Gerrit Viljoen—whom he succeeded both as rector of RAU and chairman of the Broederbond—are excellent.

And, even more important: Over the last few years Professor De Lange has cultivated and nurtured a network of contacts that is said to extend deep into Soweto, Guguletu and Lusaka.

The recent London meeting between the ANC [African National Congress] and prominent members of the Afrikaner establishment—including President De Klerk's brother, Wimpie de Klerk (who is both a member of the

AB executive and an open supporter of the Democratic Party)—was not altogether coincidental.

It was a culmination of a series of talks initiated more than two years ago by Stellenbosch's Professor Willie Esterhuyse—who is no longer a Broeder.

And despite the (wink-wink) denials that they were acting as proxies for NP [National Party] high-ups anxious to assess the prospects of talks-about-talks with the ANC, it is scarcely a secret (nudge-nudge) that whatever messages were passed will be channelled to the correct addresses in Bryntirion, Pretoria.

With the reins of power in Northern hands again, the influence of Stellenbosch is on the wane. For this Mr Botha has to take part of the blame.

It was he who estranged the once powerful Cape establishment—personified in latter years by important party philosophers such as professors Esterhuyse, Sampie Terblanche, Julius Jeppe and Hennie Rossouw—and drove them either to the sidelines or into the waiting arms of the DP [Democratic Party].

Mr De Klerk is the country's first Doppe leader—a fact which is of greater importance than it may seem at first glance. The Gereformeerde -or Doppe—church is the smallest of the three Afrikaans denominations but carries with it a maverick tradition of being theologically conservative and politically verlig.

Potchefstroom University is the centre of Doppe thinking and it has over the years produced some of the most original Afrikaner thinkers—like Dr Wimpie de Klerk, Professor Lourens du Plessis and Professor Tjaart van der Walt.

Image

It is Professor Van der Walt, until recently chairman of Sanlam and now appointed head of the Human Sciences Research Council, who is expected to be a major influence on Government thinking in the next few years.

Already under his predecessor, Professor Johan Garbers, the HSRC started shedding its image as a government handmaiden by producing provocative reports on one educational structure for all South Africans, the Group Areas Act and freedom of association.

Under Professor Van der Walt this process will continue—especially if plans are implemented to make the HSRC [Human Sciences Research Council] even more independent of the Government leash.

Together with Potchefstroom, the Rand Afrikaans University [RAU] in Johannesburg and the University of the Free State may overtake Stellenbosch as think-tanks.

Without resorting to conspiracy theories, the old-boy networks are already in place and too obvious not to notice.

Some of these appointments date from the Botha era, it is true, but under Mr De Klerk their influence is sure to grow:

- Both Dr Viljoen and Professor De Lange are former rectors of RAU. Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who will also be intimately involved in the Government's negotiating team, is a former RAU political science professor. And Dr Viljoen's deputy, Mr Roelf Meyer, is MP [Member of Parliament] for Johannesburg West—which includes RAU.
- The two most senior civil servants assigned to draft constitutional proposals and get the negotiating process going are former Potch academics, Dr Joh van Tonder and Dr Chris Maritz.
- Mr Kobie Coetsee, who has played such an active role in engaging Mr Nelson Mandela in discussions, will be one of the new strongmen behind the scenes. The University of the Free State falls within his Bloemfontein West constituency and he keeps his channels open to former Kovsies, Roelf Meyer and National Intelligence chief Dr Neil Barnard.
- A strong "kitchen cabinet" is expected to evolve around the new President consisting of long-time confidants like fellow-Doppers Amie Venter and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Dr Viljoen, Mr Meyer and NP Information chief Piet Coetzer (also a former Potch-efstroomer).

President De Klerk, an intellectually-inclined person himself, feels much more confident in the company of academics than did his predecessor. And Dr Viljoen, the Cabinet's one-man think-tank will keep his office doors open to wise counsel and new suggestions.

Two other men to watch are Stellenbosch law professor Andreas van Wyk (rumoured to be the architect of the AB constitutional proposals) and his RAU counterpart, Professor Ig Rautenbach (the man who drafted the new constitution).

Both are extremely capable with an extensive knowledge of both the academic world and the civil service. They are expected to "add the meat" to the constitutional skeletons provided by Dr Viljoen and his Cabinet negotiating team.

The influence of the Securocrats and the military establishment is already markedly on the wane, but they cannot be left completely out of the picture. Although it is obvious that Mr De Klerk is reverting to "civilian rule" no South African leader can afford to estrange his men in uniform.

The President's "Boere-Glasnost" in allowing marches and releasing security detainees has confused many in the upper military echelons. How far will the Government go? And will it be able to keep the lid on a pot that can so easily boil over?

This week's pow-wow between Mr De Klerk and senior military men at an undisclosed location in the Northern Transvaal must have helped smooth ruffled uniforms.

What should be expected is for the military and the police to slowly revert to their traditional roles and the Joint Management System, which was heavily dominated by men in uniform, to be pruned back.

National Intelligence chief Neil Barnard is expected to rise in influence. His credentials are solid—one foot heavily cemented in the academic world and the other in the security establishment.

And he possesses the one commodity which makes him indispensable to the new regime...knowledge of all the secrets.

Watchdog

With the ebb of the securocrats will come the flow of the econocrats. Finance Minister Barend du Plessis is not a short-pants member of the Cabinet any more. He proved his rising power when he was barely edged out by Mr De Klerk in the Presidential race.

No longer will ministers be able to spend beyond their means by appealing over Mr Du Plessis' head to the State President. He is determined to get the economy back on an even keel and his colleagues will have to stick to their budgets.

In this process he will be assisted by two of the most able public servants available—Reserve Bank president Dr Chris Stals to look after monetary matters and Finance Director-General, Gerhard Croeser, as the fiscal watchdog.

* Opposition Groups Growing Target of Wit Wolwe

34000173B Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR
in English 8 Oct 89 p 7

[Article by Sarah Sussens]

[Text] Attacks against anti-apartheid activists by organisations operating in the name of the Wit Wolwe increased over the past few months during the anti-apartheid defiance campaign.

The shadowy right-wing group which remains faceless—police say there is no evidence that such an organisation exists—have claimed responsibility for a host of attacks ranging from bomb blasts to threatening letters.

Anti-apartheid groups monitoring the attacks say the number they have monitored—less than 20—is not truly representative.

According to the newly-formed Independent Board of Enquiry into Informal Repression there has been no regular monitoring. Not many cases are reported in newspapers unless the victims are well-known.

However, their research into informal repression has revealed that since 1985 trade unions and their members

have proved to be the most popular targets. The Transvaal has the worst record of such attacks and Pretoria is the worst city for petrol, grenade and bomb attacks.

The Wit Wolwe sprang to prominence during the trial of mass murderer Barend Strydom and despite the public outcry, police have had no success in tracing the organisation or any of its members.

Police have dismissed the organisation as a figment of Strydom's imagination yet attacks continue in its name.

Mr Dave Kutu, an executive of the Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association (Potwa) in Warmbaths, was forcefully taken to a dam by three white men and a black man. The men, who identified themselves as Wit Wolwe, assaulted him, attempted to strangle him with his own belt and then threatened to drown him.

After the attack Mr Kutu said he had identified the black man as a Sergeant Letsoala from the Warmbaths police station.

These are some of the documented attacks:

- Wit Wolwe claim responsibility for an arson attack on the offices of the Namibian, a Windhoek newspaper edited by Gwen Lister.
- September 22, 1988: bomb explodes at multiracial disco Why Not in Hillbrow, injuring 19 people. A man phoned newspapers claiming the attack was carried out by Wit Wolwe. He also claimed responsibility for the Khotso House bomb attack on 31 August and arson attack at Khanya House in Pretoria on 12 October.
- May 1989: Wit wolwe stickers were placed on the car windscreens of five East London activists.
- June 1989: Members of the Black Sash East London offices are subjected to harassment including the slashing of motorcar tyres and placing Wit Wolwe stickers on the office door.
- July: Mr John Gonomo, senior shop steward at Volkswagen SA [South Africa] and newly-elected vice-president of Cosatu, received his third death threat from "Wit Wolwe II."
- August: Potwa President Mr Kgabisi Mosunkuntu received an anonymous letter telling him: "You are gonna lie around your own mortuary. You mustn't support the defiance campaign."
- Assassination attempt on Stellenbosch student leader Mr Mike Behr. Shortly after the attack a man phoned a newspaper and said "I have just shot Mike Behr. They must lie low now. Do you hear me nicely?"
- Petrol bomb attack at the family home of 21-year old Miss Alette Schoon, a member of the Defiance Campaign's Standing for Truth committee. Stones wrapped in paper were thrown at the house. On the paper was written: "Wit Wolwe will get you."
- On the eve of the launch of the defiance campaign, shots were fired at the home of Reverend Ivor Jenkins.
- September: Advertisements in newspapers offering the home of Mr Brian Currin, director of Lawyers for

Human Rights, at a third of its value. Mr Currin said he had been subjected to harassment over a period of time from people claiming to be members of the Wit Wolwe.

- Police Lieutenant Gregory Rockman, who alleges police brutality against peaceful demonstrators, received a death threat from a man claiming to be a policeman and a member of the Wit Wolwe.

* Failure To Establish Peace in Natal Discussed

34000171A Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 13-19 Oct 89 p 5

[Text] The decision by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) to carry on trying to establish peace in Natal—with or without Inkatha—follows two and a half painstaking years of negotiations between Cosatu-UDF and Inkatha.

The conflicting parties have reached agreement three times in the last 30 months. But each time, at the last minute, Inkatha has refused to commit itself.

"What disturbs us most about attempts to hold talks with Inkatha is that a discernible pattern is now emerging," said Cosatu and the UDF last week.

"Since November 1987, three written documents have been agreed on by meetings of Cosatu-UDF and Inkatha.

"Regrettably, none of these documents have been adhered to by Ulundi [Inkatha's head office]."

The pattern involves four main issues on Inkatha's side:

- the introduction of outside documents and demanding that Cosatu-UDF explains them;
- demanding apologies for various "insults" from parties involved in the peace process;
- the introduction of new demands to negotiations before it will agree to go ahead; and
- an emphasis on the national rather than the regional or local situation, leading Cosatu-UDF to accuse Inkatha of trying to "establish a national political position" for itself rather than trying to establish peace.

In addition, the peace process has been marred by allegations of police interference and misconduct, which have led to a wide range of organisations calling for an independent commission of enquiry into police conduct in the region.

The first agreement was reached by Cosatu, UDF and Inkatha leaders in Pietermaritzburg in November 1987 after a series of negotiations conducted by the local chamber of commerce.

All three organisations agreed to:

- condemn and distance themselves from the violence;
- call on law and order minister Adriaan Vlok to release all office-bearers and officials of organisations involved in the peace process;
- endorse the principles of freedom of association and expression and publicly condemn forced recruitment;

- discipline members who violated these principles; and
- hold peace reportbacks in their constituencies.

But in December 1987, when the three organisations returned to the negotiating table, the Inkatha delegation read out a memorandum from its leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, demanding that Cosatu-UDF dissociate themselves from a publication produced in London by the Marxist Workers' Tendency (MWT) criticising the talks and Inkatha.

The Cosatu-UDF delegation assured Inkatha that it was not linked to the MWT and that the publication had nothing to do with them.

However, Buthelezi was not satisfied and attempts to take the talks further failed.

The final nail in the coffin of that round of talks was the effective banning of UDF and the restriction of Cosatu in February 1988.

In September 1988, a glimmer of hope was once again seen in Pietermaritzburg when a Complaints Adjudication Board (CAB) was established.

Set up by Cosatu-UDF and Inkatha, the board was based on the principles of freedom of association and expression. It was to be run by a retired judge with two assessors, one from each side.

The board was to hear complaints brought against members of the three organisations by the Pietermaritzburg community and to recommend disciplinary measures against those it found to have violated the principles of the board.

But when Pietermaritzburg residents brought complaints against prominent Inkatha members in November 1988, the Inkatha members refused to appear before the board.

Their reason was that they were facing criminal charges and that, if they testified, their cases may be prejudiced. Inkatha refused to discipline them for failing to appear before the board, and the board effectively collapsed.

At the beginning of this year, prominent Natal leaders, including Natal University principal Professor Pete Booyesen and Tongaat-Hulett director Chris Saunders, announced that they were to convene a peace conference in Natal.

However, Buthelezi said the conference had been undemocratically conceived as the conference convenors had been in contact with Cosatu and the UDF but not with Inkatha.

The three organisations then agreed to meet—but Buthelezi insisted that he would only meet Cosatu and the UDF in Ulundi.

Cosatu and UDF proposed a neutral venue. Eventually, after an Anglican church delegation approached Buthelezi, he agreed to a meeting between Inkatha and Cosatu-UDF in Durban.

Such was the progress at the meeting that at Cosatu and UDF meetings, people were told not to sing anti-Inkatha songs.

The African National Congress (ANC) also offered to help in any way possible, and Buthelezi proposed that the presidents of Inkatha, UDF, ANC and Cosatu meet to discuss how to end the violence.

A document was drawn up by Cosatu-UDF and Inkatha, setting out a peace programme including:

- an end to all hostile propaganda between the organisations;
- the presidents' meeting;
- a joint peace conference;
- joint peace rallies, peace committees and peace enforcement structures; and
- dealing with refugees and the socio-economic effects of the violence.

The meeting was to have taken place in August, but once again—just when it seemed peace was within reach—Inkatha placed new conditions on the process.

It insisted that the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC be represented in one delegation. At the same time, it insisted that its trade union, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa), and an unknown group called the "Natal region of the PAC in exile" are also represented at the meeting.

Once again it also demanded an explanation from the UDF and Cosatu for an anonymous document called "A guide to comrades," which called for selective violence against unco-operative Inkatha members.

This was despite assurances from Cosatu-UDF that they did not know about the document and that the first time they and their members had seen it was when Inkatha had shown it to them.

Inkatha also demanded that the ANC apologise for remarks made against it by ANC leader Thabo Mbeki.

Until these conditions have been met, Inkatha has declared a moratorium on peace talks.

Cosatu and the UDF have responded by saying that they will continue to break the deadlock between themselves and Inkatha while at the same time trying to end the violence.

"We cannot resolve the violence by continually stressing our differences and by attempting to politically embarrass each other," said Cosatu and the UDF.

* Political Implications for Environmental Issues

34000175B Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 6-12 Oct 89 p 10

[Article by Eddie Koch and Dirk Hartford; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] More immediate factors like oppression and exploitation have inhibited environmental awareness. So too has the lack of legally binding regulations. But 'green' is now a growing issue.

At a gathering of tribal elders in the Kosi Bay district last year a grey-bearded man in the audience stood up and said: "show me a fish that can live out of water and then we can talk about *imvelo* (conservation)."

Unprecedented public outrage over ecological degradation—fanned by scandals over toxic waste, river contamination and air pollution—has resulted in an upsurge of environmental awareness in South Africa [SA].

This was illustrated most dramatically by the massive support given to a petition against plans to mine rare beach dunes near St Lucia, and by the outcry that followed the chemical destruction of the ecosystem in a stretch of river near the Sappi timber mill in the Eastern Transvaal.

But while this upsurge in "green" awareness has included calls for the formation of a European-style eco-party in South Africa, the sentiments of the old man from Kosi Bay highlight some of the factors that have inhibited the emergence of a powerful eco-movement in the past.

The reasons for the absence of environmental issues from South Africa's political history stem from the fact that resistance and opposition to the policies of government and industry have been dominated by the burning issues of racism and exploitation, leaving little time and energy for organisation around ecology.

Environmental projects have often resulted in social dislocation and distress for black communities. In Kosi Bay, for example, a group of *indunas* and villagers have formed at least three civic committees to oppose attempts by kwaZulu's conservation department to extend the nearby nature reserve into their traditional settlements.

"If conservation means losing water rights, losing grazing and arable land and being dumped in a resettlement area without even the most rudimentary infrastructure and services, as was the case when the Tembe Elephant Park (near Kosi Bay) was declared in 1983," says rural field worker Richard Clasey, "this can only promote a vigorous anti-conservation ideology amongst the rural communities of South Africa."

The same antipathy toward ecological issues is often expressed by residents of urban black townships, where a

history of land dispossession and residential segregation has forced people to live in monotonous dormitory townships.

Asked whether resistance groups saw the need to take up ecological issues, a young black activist replied: "The people have long been alienated from the environment they live in. Why should they now be asked to protect the very land that has been taken from them?"

While these sentiments have resulted in a lack of political pressure from "below" for South Africa's natural resources to be protected, it is also true that at least until recently, both industry and the government have had scant regard for the environment.

The history of economic development in South Africa has been characterised by brutal patterns of exploitation. Congested "homeland" villages, eroded and overgrazed, have been countenanced because they provided subsidies for low wages paid by industrialists to migrants.

The lack of a political rights for black workers has contributed to the marked absence of a "welfare ethic" amongst local industrialists. This, in turn, has led in many cases to high accident rates in mines and factories, poor health and safety records, and a general lack of concern for the well-being of both black and white communities that live in industrial areas.

Government policies have also done little to inhibit such practices. Peter Glavovic, director of the Institute of Environmental Law at the University of Natal, says South African legislation is based on the "best practical means" approach to industrial pollution.

Unlike the "polluter pays" approach used by most industrial countries—involving the imposition of heavy taxes on plants that damage the ecology—Pretoria prefers a conciliatory approach.

Glavovic is concerned that South Africa's new Environmental Act, passed in June this year, confers extraordinary discretionary powers on Environment Minister Gert Kotze and does not lay down legally binding regulations to prevent pollution.

Although the Council for the Environment, which advises the minister, has drawn up far-reaching guidelines these are mere recommendations.

The law stipulates the minister must obtain consent from the ministers of finance, economic affairs and technology before issuing regulations, raising the possibility vested interests could block environmental measures.

At the same time it provides no formal channels through which ecology groups can influence official policy.

There are a range of other laws that have a potential impact on the ecology: the Water Act, the Hazardous Substances Act, the Health Act, the Mines and Works Act. These lay down legal limits beyond which offenders

can be penalised for contaminating the ecosystem. But the limits and the penalties are much lower than those in other industrial nations.

"South Africa is in many respects still a developing country and the government clearly doesn't want to overregulate or curtail operations so that this starts impacting on economic growth," says Glavovic. "My basic objection is to the very notion that national environmental policy should be determined administratively rather than legislatively."

Recent developments indicate that all this is beginning to change with the mushrooming of environmental groups. (See separate story).

White housewives in the Vaal Triangle have organised themselves to fight industrial pollution, forcing the government to order a high-level study into the effect the foul air is having on the health of their children.

While neither the African National Congress' constitutional guidelines nor the Freedom charter mention the word ecology, figures in the exiled organisation have indicated such issues are now the subject of debate.

A new slogan doing the rounds says: "It's time to put the green back in to the black, green and gold (the colours of the ANC [African National Congress])."

Inside the country, some militant trade unions have begun to explore the link between health and safety issues on the factory floor and ecological degradation: the SA Chemical Workers' Union (Sacwu), whose members make pesticides, has been in contact with Natal farmers fighting for a ban on dangerous herbicides.

Democratic Party candidates made gains during the recent elections in some areas by standing on a "clean up the environment" ticket. And ecologists have begun to call for the formation of a "greens party." There are also moves toward ensuring the protection of the environment is included in a post-apartheid bill of rights.

In South Africa there are at least four areas in which there is the potential to build alliances across the divides of class and race:

- Air pollution does not discriminate. White housewives in the Vaal Triangle confront the same problem as the National Environmental Action Committee (Neac), an organisation in Soweto that campaign for clean air in the township.
- River pollution, like that caused by the devastating spill from Sappi's timber mill in the Eastern Transvaal, despoils white farming land and deprives rural black communities of precious water supplies.
- Indiscriminate use of pesticides, such as the Agent Orange-type herbicides that have destroyed millions of rands worth of vegetables in Natal, affects some farming groups as well as the agricultural workers who spray the chemicals and the factory workers who make them.

- While the irresponsible dumping of toxic waste in the Pietermaritzburg area poses a massive threat to the health of the squatter communities next to the dump, city residents are showing alarm at the way the poison has seeped into the water table.

In a polarised country like South Africa there are obvious antagonisms which will undermine the potential for broad-based, unified action. During the St Lucia uproar some local farmers voiced objections on grounds that mining "would bring hordes of black workers and a township" into the reserve.

However there are increasing signs that both political and ecological activists are realising that—if the needs of people like the old man in Kosi Bay are taken into account—there is vast potential for a new "green" alliance in the fight to end apartheid.

Guide to South Africa's Ecological Group

A host of organisations are linking their names to the environmental mania sweeping South Africa. These range from small, regional groups which focus on specific issues to some of the most powerful political organisations in the country.

The following is a who's who of the main actors on the "green" stage and a brief look at how political organisations are dealing with the issue.

Environmental Groups

The Wildlife Society of Southern Africa: South Africa's biggest conservation organisation, formed in 1926, has 28,000 adult members, 12,000 junior members and 120,000 corporate members. Its brochure says it is concerned with the conservation of air, soil, water and "all forms of life."

It monitors abuses and reviews existing legislation. The society recently played a leading role in mobilising the public against plans to mine near St Lucia.

Earthlife Africa: Formed a year ago, this is the only group trying to organise nationally around "creating a new society where protection of the environment is a precondition." It has active branches in Johannesburg, Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Eshowe and Stellenbosch, and over 1,000 members.

Earthlife is focusing on Eskom's proposed second nuclear power station, the issues of toxic waste and air pollution. Smaller committees take up issues, from animal rights to tree planting.

Earthlife seeks to mobilise at grassroots level to pressure (through information, education and direct action) business and government to stop environmental destruction.

The Endangered Wildlife Trust: Based in Johannesburg, this organisation has about 5,000 members. It has been particularly vocal about complaints of lack of government curbs on illegal ivory and rhino poaching. It organised a major conference last year to deal with

nature reserves and the need to improve relations with communities on their borders.

The Rhino and Elephant Foundation: A small, highly specialised, group focusing on the threat to rhino and elephant in southern Africa. It raises funds, advises the authorities in South Africa and Namibia, and monitors the declining numbers of elephants and rhino.

Environment and Development Agency (EDA): This organisation organises rural communities around local development projects. It deals with the effects of erosion, the destruction of natural fuel and overgrazing. It provides training and education.

EDA plans to launch a journal next year to raise public awareness.

The Zululand Environment Alliance (Zeal): A coalition of local conservation groups which has begun a campaign to protect the shores of St Lucia and to have areas of Zululand's coast that have been put under pine plantations reclaimed for indigenous plants and associated life forms.

Koeberg Alert: Formed in the early 1980s in Cape Town to mobilise opinion against the establishment of the Koeberg nuclear plant, the small, local group highlights the danger of nuclear power stations through education, information and meetings. A similar group, Society Against Nuclear Energy (Sane), has been formed in Natal.

Air Pollution Appeal Committee (Apac): formed in 1988 by women in the Vaal Triangle, Apac is organising to pressurise for effective monitoring of, and legislative control over, one of the most polluted areas in the world.

Its activities include pressurising industry, developing public awareness through information, protest marches and petitioning government to introduce environmental awareness curriculae into schools.

National Environment Awareness Committee (Neac): Formed in Soweto during the 1976 uprisings, Neac started off as a Keep Soweto Clean-type operation when basic services had broken down. While this is still part of Neac's work, it has taken up a range of issues including tree planting and the development of the handful of "people's parks" in the township. It has also focused on air pollution in Soweto.

Political Organisations

The Democratic Party [DP]: In the recent elections, the DP was the only party to present an environmental programme. Its manifesto outlines four things it will do if it comes to power: set up an environment protection body; take strong action against poachers and dealers in illicit ivory; promote the use of lead-free petrol; and impose strict curbs on all other forms of pollution.

The Conservative Party: CP spokesman on the environment Karel Schoeman says the party had a general

concern for ecological issues and was especially concerned about air pollution over the Eastern Transvaal, Highveld and the Vaal Triangle. If it comes to power the party would reintroduce influx control to prevent the despoilation caused by urban squatting.

The National Party: The NP had no eco-clauses in its election manifesto. However, as the ruling party, its approach is contained in the new Environmental Act and the guidelines for the Council for the Environment. While the guidelines are far-reaching, they do not have any legislative force and Environment Minister Gert Kotze wields vast discretionary powers.

African National Congress [ANC]: As with all other political organisations in South Africa, environmental issues did not appear on the ANC's agenda until recently. This is changing. At a recent phone-in to the National Union of SA Students Congress, a representative said the movement was planning an enquiry into the state of the environment and what is needed to protect it. "The state and business are deliberately destroying the environment of South Africa...it is the task of anti-apartheid forces to challenge this," says the ANC.

Extra-parliamentary organisations: A few organisations have begun to put the environment on their agenda. Idasa is to host a talk on "The ecological transformation of society" by a West German Green Party representative. The Afrikaner Demokrate have ecology as one of their policies. And leading activists in organisations like Nusas, Five Freedoms Forum, and the UDF [United Democratic Front] (Natal) are talking of taking up the issue.

Trade Unions

Although the labour movement has become aware of a link between health and safety issues and environmental despoilation, few unions campaign actively around "green" issues. Exceptions include:

The South African Chemical Workers' Union (Sacwu): A National Council of Trade Unions affiliate, the union has contacted Chemwatch, a group of Natal farmers and ecologists fighting for a ban on hormone herbicides. The union fears their members' exposure to chemicals in pharmaceutical factories. General secretary Humphrey Ndaba says members plan to pressure chemical firms to phase out ozone-destroying chlorofluorocarbons.

The Paper, Print, Wood and Allied Workers' Union (Ppwawu): This union, a Congress of SA Trade Unions member, has some 2,000 members in the forestry industry and has taken tentative steps to educate them about the dangers of weed-killer sprays. Ppwawu has 1,200 members at the Ngodwana mill, scene of a recent chemical spill, and plans to discuss the effects of the spill on water supplies in townships where they live.

The Black Mining Construction and Allied Workers' Union: Affiliated to Nactu, this union has conducted a

five-year campaign against the use of asbestos products. The union has some 2,000 members at the Penge asbestos mine.

* Fatima Meer Speaks on Ending Division

34000175C Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 13-19 Oct 89 p 15

[Speech by Fatima Meer; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] In a provocative speech last week, Professor Fatima Meer argued that all black leaders—even so called 'collaborators' need to be pulled into the struggle for freedom. Extracts from a speech at a human rights function hosted by the INDICATOR newspaper in Lenasia.

We are on the brink of a new society. Apartheid has exhausted itself.

The Nationalists have lost faith in their ideology and therefore in themselves. They have played all their cards and they have lost, as they were bound to.

The Afrikaner, the white working class and white lumpen proletariat of the 1930s has become the parasitic bourgeois of the 1980s, a constituency of civil servants, professionals and entrepreneurs linked to international capitalism and incapable of survival without the goodwill of that capitalism.

International capitalism in turn depends on the goodwill of South African black labour, as does internal capitalism.

It is these facts that are leaning on the National Party to negotiate a new constitution with disenfranchised South Africans.

For black people it has been a long struggle, but their strategies for sanctions against the South African government, internal resistance and military combat are at last paying dividends.

While the government controls the national budget and uses the bulk of it in violating the disenfranchised, it is primarily dependent on the disenfranchised for its revenue, derived from direct or indirect taxation.

And if black resistance moves skillfully into co-ordinated non-cooperative strategies, this revenue can be effectively cut off and the government brought to a standstill.

The existence of a strong labour movement in the last decade and the recent highly disciplined freedom marches indicate the capacity of the disenfranchised for decisive mass action.

It is the hope of all South Africans—and this hope is confirmed by numerous surveys—that the transition to the new order will be through peaceful negotiation, that the Nationalists will be forced by international pressure and internal realities to release Nelson Mandela, unban the African National Congress [ANC], the Pan Africanist

Congress and the Communist Party and create the necessary climate for a new constitution so that we may begin our new society.

But we cannot live on hope alone. We must remain forever alert to any backsliding on the part of the Nationalists.

For though the Nationalists know that their days are numbered and their interests are best served by negotiating their future while they still retain initiative, they will withdraw into the apartheid mode on the slightest sign of relaxation on our part or on the part of those capitalist interests that have already applied various degrees of sanctions against them.

While we aspire towards a non-racial or even anti-racial democracy we have to acknowledge the racial reality and work through it.

Many of us want so badly to reach the non-racial society that we delude ourselves into thinking that we are already in a kind of non-racial existence. And the reality is that we are not.

Through we share a common disenfranchised status we do not share common material conditions of life and this in itself breeds tension and resentment.

The ANC Youth League, founded in the 1940s by Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu, among others, identified its goal as African nationalism, placed priority on African rights and simultaneously admitted the rights of the three racial minorities.

The ANC, while highlighting African claims, emphasised at all times that it aspired to share power not monopolise it, and that its goal was a non-racial democracy.

Those are the values to which we are heirs. And those are the values we hope the ANC, led by Mandela and Tambo, will resurrect in the new South Africa.

These values were clearly enshrined in the consciousness of the disenfranchised until at least 1960. The subsequent banning of liberatory organisations—more especially the ANC—intensified state repression, wholesale detentions and escalating violence, appears to have weakened these values in the mind of the disenfranchised.

Our youth have on the one hand been distanced from the democratic tradition of their forebears and on the other hand so brutalised by the state that the state appears to be reflected in them rather than the traditional values of the ANC.

Thus while we stand today on the brink of our political freedom we do so bearing certain liabilities. And if we do not confront these liabilities honestly and frankly they may snatch away from us the fruits of our intergenerational freedom struggle.

Repeated States of Emergency have driven our political organisations into secrecy and this in turn has seriously affected our ability to exercise democracy, to consult effectively with our constituencies.

Initially, we welcomed the secrecy and saw it as protecting our leaders from being picked off one by one by the government. We even considered the secrecy necessary for the survival of our resistance, and indeed it has secured that survival, but at a very heavy price—we have almost lost the democratic content of our political organisations.

Secret control also means secret manipulation. The fact that a great deal of our funding today comes from abroad exacerbates secret control. On the one hand the state precludes democratic consultation, on the other foreign funding relieves dependence on the constituency.

There is a fear that things are being done for people, that there is not sufficient consultation, and at times too, there is the feeling that decisions are imposed erratically and the sources from which they come are questionable.

These feelings may be unwarranted, but they are there and they can erode the commitment which is necessary to dislodge apartheid.

Secrecy also manifests itself in petty tyrannies, in vilifications and rustication of persons based on personality differences. Our movement does not have any organ where the persecuted can expect a just appraisal of the problems that led to his or her vilification.

Divisions have always characterised our political life, but the liberatory ethos managed in the past to maintain these on a rhetorical level and the political integrity of dissidence was respected.

Nonetheless, a divisive tendency was contributed by what can be seen today a vulgar doctrine of irreconcilable conflict and classified people into "collaborators" and "liberators."

This categorisation—in a sense name-calling—has been affixed today to all incumbents of apartheid institutions, homeland governments, community councils, the members of the two inferior houses of the tricameral parliament, and these incumbents in most cases deserve the stigmatisation.

Yet the fact remains that they resent it.

And particularly in Natal, we find that this kind of stigmatisation and distancing of people has reached enormous proportions and has resulted in conflict and in mass bloodshed that seems today to be uncontrollable.

We have tried to bring to the negotiating table the opposing factors in the conflict in the Natal region without success.

Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha are particularly resentful of being placed outside the liberatory fold and this in part frustrates all attempts at peace.

For us to be truly strong today against the wavering Nats, if we then are going to succeed in forcing them on the negotiating table, then it is imperative that we must rethink our politics of irreconcilable conflict and seriously consider the alternative of co-operation.

We must try and gather together all our forces, be they homeland governments or community councils.

Our reasoning ought to be that we need the widest and the strongest black resistance against the Nationalist government.

And in order to gain this it would be suicidal if we now continued to maintain and nurture internal conflicts. We must try and find ways and means to deprive the Nationalists of every black ally.

If we are going to succeed on the negotiating table and draw the best benefits, we must go there in the strongest possible kind of confrontation.

And of course the aftermath is also there. If we are not able to unite our black people then we will find that after we have managed to develop a new constitution, we may still be confronted with black forces which are arraigned against black forces, as in Mozambique and in Angola.

* National Party Candidate Denies AWB Links

34000201B Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English
27 Oct 89 p 3

[Article by Daniel Simon]

[Text] A police probe began this week after multi-millionaire Melvyn "Taffy" Whyte's NP [National Party] by-election posters in Berea were defaced with AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] stickers.

The investigation follows NP complaints that posters worth about R12,000 had been defaced with small, round AWB logos stuck over Whyte's eyes.

A charge of malicious damage to property was laid by an NP helper who jotted down the registration number of a white Ford Cortina bakkie.

NP supporter Gideon Pitout, formerly Whyte's campaign manager, yesterday said he saw someone standing on the back of the bakkie sticking AWB logos on the posters on Saturday night.

The bakkie had since been seen used by someone putting up rival party posters, said Pitout.

Whyte said the smear against him appeared to have stemmed from his presence at an AWB protest outside the Hillbrow swimming pool in June.

He said he had since been accused of being an AWB member, and at the time was accused of being a "nazi" by a DP [Democratic Party] city councillor.

Whyte said legal proceedings against Orange Grove DP city councillor Clive Gilbert for allegedly verbally abusing and striking him had been put on hold until after the election.

Whyte said: "I have never been an AWB member and I never will be. During the war I fought for the allies and helped to save Jews in Germany."

He said on the day in question, he was on his way to collect a van for Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha's election campaign when the protest took place. Police had detained him briefly.

Whyte said he had received several telephone calls from Gilbert, who apologized and wanted to settle the dispute.

Pitout said he was also taking legal action against Gilbert and a newspaper which had defamed him by alleging he was an AWB spokesman.

He said his presence at the AWB protest had nothing to do with the AWB protest, as he was there to "protest for Hillbrow's aged".

Yesterday Gilbert said he was satisfied with Whyte's statement that he was not an AWB member, but denied allegations of assault and defamation, saying he would oppose further action.

* Communist Party's Popularity Growing

34000880A Johannesburg *THE WEEKLY MAIL*
in English 3-9 Nov 89 p 9

[Article by Phillip Van Niekerk; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The overwhelming message of Saturday's rally was that the militant township youth show increasing enthusiasm for the banned Communist Party. And the very mystery which shrouds the party, enhances its appeal.

If the crowd at Sunday's rally was the South African electorate and their roars votes, then Joe Slovo, other leaders of the South African Communist Party [SACP] and Fidel Castro would now be planning the decor for their offices at the Union Buildings.

The SACP's message that democracy would create the conditions for the working class to push for socialism is clearly the favoured position of the militant township youth.

The claim by African National Congress [ANC] president Oliver Tambo that it was in F.W. de Klerk's hands to become one of the peacemakers in South Africa was met with silence; the SACP's call to turn De Klerk's "tactical retreat" into "headlong flight" was cheered with gusto.

The big red flag of the SACP shared pride of place behind the rostrum with the black, green and gold banner of the ANC, but in the stands the SACP flags outnumbered those with the ANC colours.

As the political climate becomes rapidly more open, the ANC is putting on more and more of a public face at marches, rallies and press conferences inside South Africa. Its alliance partner, the SACP, marches at its side, but the party remains shrouded in mystery.

We know from the public response that the SACP has won the support of a lot of the township youth, in spirit at least. We also know from its own reports of its seventh congress held earlier this year that the party's popularity has risen substantially among unionised workers, which is not surprising for an organisation that sees itself as "the vanguard workers' party."

The trade unions have themselves adopted a leading role as the most well-organised and powerful section of the Mass Democratic Movement [MDM], and this in turn gives further weight to the SACP's position.

It was clear from Sunday's rally that the SACP is growing increasingly important in its own right.

It is not hard to see why. The party has long had a reputation within the alliance of attracting the brightest and most disciplined young cadres to its ranks. Many of them have inevitably gone on to leadership positions within the broad MDM/ANC/SACP alliance.

More than that, the SACP retains a romantic mystique, an overwhelmingly powerful symbolic force to the young lions who are searching for a revolutionary alternative to the status quo. It has a vision and an ideological coherence.

Other sections of the movement are becoming gradually demythologised. Most of the ANC's legendary leaders are now out of prison. They are dignified and solid, but at the same time they are human beings capable of delivering boring speeches or of tripping over themselves in interviews.

Apart from general secretary Joe Slovo and chairman Dan Tloome, the names of the members of the SACP Politburo or even the figure for the total membership of the party remains unknown.

It is a party that is theoretically committed to the attainment of democracy, including parliamentary democracy, yet continues to operate on conspiracist principles.

Traditionally, the SACP has kept to the shadows, because of fears for the safety of its members, the importance of the underground in developing its presence inside the country, and the fact that unlike the ANC the party has no need for diplomatic exposure.

But, if the current freeing up of political activity continues, will the SACP at some stage also join in the process of *glasnost*?

The SACP remains a loyal partner in the "revolutionary alliance" with the ANC, a fact strongly defended by Govan Mbeki in a paper read on his behalf at the rally by Sidney Mafumadi of Cosatu, and stressed by Slovo in his message. This alliance is going to continue, Mafumadi said, "until apartheid...is eliminated."

Because it is the thing the South African state would most love to see happen, a split between the communists and the nationalists is the thing that is least likely to happen.

But important differences of emphasis appear to have arisen over the movement towards negotiations, if one takes seriously the SACP's new party programme drawn up at its recent congress. The SACP declares its belief in insurrection as a means of attaining power and believes in the likelihood of a protracted struggle.

On Sunday, Slovo called for an intensification of struggle and the ever-more active mobilisation and organisation of workers.

How does this square with Mandela's urgings to his released comrades to discipline and control the ANC's supporters, to calm the situation so that the government can proceed with further "normalisation" of the security situation to meet the preconditions for talks?

In its 1989 programme, the SACP warns its supporters to be on guard against "imperialist and local forces who see negotiations as a way of taking transformation beyond the reform limits of the government, but which at the same time frustrate the basic objectives of the people." It warns that they hope to achieve this by "pushing the liberation movement into negotiations before it is strong enough to back its basic demand with sufficient power on the ground."

* Country's Tradition of Liberalism Assessed

34000881B Braamfontein WORK IN PROGRESS
in English Sep/Oct 89 pp 9-11

[Article by Daryl Glaser; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] No democracy—bourgeois or socialist—is possible without a massive extension of freedoms of expression and association. Daryl Glaser argues that socialists ignore the 'traditional liberal freedoms' at their peril.

The spectre of 'liberalism' has long haunted the south African left. It has typically been perceived as something to be fought at all costs.

Revisionist academics of the 1970s expended their energies debunking liberal historiography. National Forum affiliates hold up 'anti-liberalism' as a premise of their

unity. Socialists in the Congress movement feel compelled to justify their association with liberals in terms that are often purely tactical and instrumental.

These critical appraisals have one kind of liberalism in mind—the liberalism of capitalist privilege. This proposes that apartheid and capitalism are incompatible, that capitalism will or can sustain an institutional framework of non-racial democracy, and, above all, the assumption that such an outcome would be desirable.

This form of liberalism would create a 'formal' democracy based on universal franchise and civil liberties but leave the foundations of economic inequality intact.

Pro-capitalist reformism has indeed constituted the dominant tendency of South African liberalism, and the critique on these grounds is well-founded. But it has its limits—and its share of dangers.

The principal danger is that it could encourage South African socialists to think goals like political pluralism and civil liberties as 'bourgeois' or 'elitist'—purely because of their historical association with liberalism.

In countries of 'actually-existing socialism' it is clear that subordinating pluralism and liberty to statist pursuits of general welfare, under the banner of proletarian (or other) dictatorship, has absolutely denied the democratic rights of the working class. And this has frequently happened without offering people a commensurate improvement in material living standards.

But the assumption that freedom of expression, for example, concerns only the bourgeoisie or intelligentsia, reveals a massive contempt for working people. It assumes that—at the end of the day—they are merely consumers of material goods with no interest in expressing intelligent views or being culturally creative.

Only slightly less paternalistic is the view that it is 'good' for working people to be creative. Here, all views and creations of the working class must be politically acceptable—in the opinion of self-styled vanguards claiming to understand their best interests.

The gains achieved by working people through the franchise and trade union rights in capitalist democracies, and the massive repression and privations they have suffered under so-called workers' states, should be sufficient to persuade socialists that no democracy—bourgeois or socialist—is possible without a massive extension of freedoms of expression and association.

Indeed, the best argument for socialism is not that it fills workers' stomachs or puts shelters over their heads, but that it alone has the potential to generate the equality of social power which makes possible full and equal public enjoyment of rights and liberties.

The problem with the left's 'anti-liberalism' is that it conflates two quite distinct aspects of South African liberalism. The one is the concern to protect South Africa's capitalist order from egalitarian and levelling

pressures emanating from the black majority. Pro-capitalist liberals may want to protect capitalism in its laissez faire or social democratic permutations. And their motives might be to protect their own privileges or to preserve private economic power as a counterweight to bureaucratic domination.

No matter what motive they may have in mind: from a democratic socialist point of view the position is mistaken.

Socialists argue—in my view correctly—that political power in capitalist societies is not counterposed to private economic power, but ultimately reinforces it.

Any society where a small capitalist minority monopolises decisions about production and investment remains vulnerable to capitalist blackmail, whether from local business elites or international financial agencies.

It is therefore entirely appropriate, from a socialist viewpoint, to challenge those aspects of liberalism bound up with the defence of private property in the principal means of production. (Questions left open for debate here are markets, co-operatives, small enterprise under socialism, as well as time scales for the socialisation of economic resources. What *can* be confidently asserted is that indefinitely preserving large scale capitalist property or largely unregulated markets is incompatible with attaining an egalitarian and fully democratic order).

But liberals also articulate a second concern—that a post-apartheid regime in South Africa should institute, extend and defend freedom of expression and association for its opponents. This view has always appeared inherently 'liberal' (and indissolubly linked to capitalism) only because liberals alone have thus far verbalised it.

If such freedoms existed in a post-apartheid system, they would of course be 'used' by opponents of that regime (that is tautologically true), and indeed by opponents of socialism.

But that is what democracy means—as Rosa Luxemburg herself boldly reminded the Bolsheviks in 1917. The consequences of the Bolshevik failure to follow her injunction are all too apparent.

The right of different and diverse subjects to dissent openly is part of the democratic process. Once a regime withdraws that right from one dissenting party, the way is opened to widespread repression and to the indefinite demotion of civil liberties to the status of an unaffordable luxury.

The liberal defence of freedoms of expression and association, indeed of multi-party democracy, is therefore well grounded in the lessons of history and should be wholeheartedly embraced by the left (including the revolutionary left). The expansion of those freedoms is integral to any defensible socialist project and their promotion should not be abandoned to liberals.

Where does this leave the question of alliances with the liberals?

One approach may be to distinguish pro-capitalist from anti-capitalist liberals and to seek to work only with the latter as allies. But this seems too restrictive. It leaves out of any prospective alliance thousands of liberals who do not hold strong views about capitalism. It also leaves out those who, despite being mildly pro-capitalist, are sincere in their commitment to liberties.

There are times when the distinction between pro-capitalist and anti-capitalist liberals might indeed be appropriate, especially in demarcating intimate from distant allies. But it abandons to the enemy large numbers of people who could potentially be reconciled to a post-apartheid order, including a socialist one, provided it respected political pluralism and civil liberties.

A much more fruitful distinction can be made between two kinds of alliance with liberalism: a class compromise alliance and a principled alliance.

Far-left critics of alliances with liberals usually have the former in mind—an alliance with liberals-as-defenders-of-capitalism.

This conception of alliance underlines Popular Front thinking. Liberals are assumed, in a reductionist fashion to represent the 'progressive' or 'enlightened' wing of the bourgeoisie. An alliance with liberalism is in these terms, by definition an alliance with the bourgeoisie and can only take place on the basis of a deferment of socialist goals.

This kind of alliance could be either (or at once) too close or too distant. Too close because the imperative of maintaining an alliance with capital could lead to a steady dilution of socialist commitment, a demotion of militant sections like trade unions or township youth, and an insidious bourgeois penetration—in terms of both personnel and ideology—of Popular Front leadership.

At the same time such an alliance is too distant, because—reducing all liberal discourse to class interests—it encourages the left to think of liberals in largely instrumental terms. In turn, the left may not take liberal commitments to political and civil liberties seriously enough.

The worst of all worlds could result—as happened in Spain: an abandonment of socially radical goals coupled to Stalinist and authoritarian politics by the left.

Popular Front or class compromise alliances with liberalism are therefore doubly flawed—indeed flawed in more senses than its far-left critics acknowledge.

However, a principled alliance with liberalism would combine the struggle for socialism with the struggle for political democracy and civil liberties. It would not

prioritise one of these goals at the expense of the other, consign them to separate 'stages' or see wither as 'means' to higher 'ends.'

The idea here is that the only kind of socialism worth fighting for is one that extends freedoms of expression and association, the right to a fair trial, protection from torture and capital punishment, and other such liberties. Socialists with this view would seek to win over liberals to the socialist cause on the basis of a principled and shared commitment to these values.

In the present South African context, the left would join forces with liberals to fight against torture, hangings, detention, bans, restrictions, censorship as well as against all racially discriminatory legislation. They would also co-operate in building a genuinely democratic post-apartheid order and in vigilantly monitoring and scrutinising the human rights record of post-apartheid governments.

Socialists would also take seriously current efforts to think about a 'Bill of Rights' for a post-apartheid order and seek to amplify the commitment to civil liberties codified in the African National Congress's constitutional guidelines.

Similar things are happening in contemporary Britain, where socialists around the left of the Labour and Green Parties are debating sympathetically proposals to provide the United Kingdom with a written Bill of Rights, to devolve power to the regions and introduce proportional representation into the electoral system. Until now these proposals have largely been the preserve of liberals and disillusioned ex-marxists.

This kind of debate has opened up the possibility of linking socialists and democratic liberals in common struggles without sacrificing a vision of radical economic transformation.

The alternative to such politics could be a barren, unnecessary and ultimately self-defeating battle-to-the-death between liberals and the left. Here the most vivid and unhappy recent precedent is Iran. After the fall of the Shah, socialists occupied themselves with ensuring that 'liberals' did not come to power.

Those who did take power have since given Iranian socialist cause to regret this.

* Democratic Party 'Young Turks' Broaden Goals

34000173A Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 13-19 Oct 89 p 8

[Article by Harry Schwarz]

[Text] The new Democrats, youngish and often Afrikaans-speaking, have emerged as a major driving force in the Democratic Party [DP], determined to reshape its style and strategy.

At the party congress in Durban last weekend, they chose the leadership issue to flex their muscles and outmanoeuvre the "old guard," largely ex-Progs. At the heart of their campaign lay intensive lobbying, including lapel stickers which read "Troika yes" and "Driemanskap ja"—and sheer force of argument.

In the process, the new Democrats demonstrated that the DP is not going to be the PFP [Progressive Federal Party] in drag, but will endeavour to be a new movement with a power base among white voters and a relevance in the broader political struggle.

The 1989 "Young Turks" believe the DP cannot simply be a party based on the richer, predominantly English-speaking constituencies, trying to extend its influence by trying to capture former opposition seats.

Many of the old Progs, knowing full well from bitter experience that reaching new constituencies is easier said than done, dismiss the new activists. After all, Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement [NDM], where many new Democrats first found a political home, was the smallest of the three parties which formed the DP in April and everyone knew the PFP provided the party with most of its members and resources.

But, stirred by taunts in the National Party press that the DP was effectively under the control of old Progs, the new Democrats started building up allies within the party, such as the youth wing, where the national youth leader Michelle Guttler surprised some former colleagues in the PFP by supporting the troika leadership.

Another surprise ally was Tiaan van der Merwe, MP for Green Point, who took the new Democrats seriously and sympathised with many of their positions, both in the negotiations leading up to the party's formation and in the discussion of post-election strategies.

Van der Merwe, who was rewarded by being elected national chairman over Yeville MP Harry Schwarz and key former-NDM figure "Lang" Dawid de Villiers, made one of the most effective speeches at the congress in favour of the troika, arguing that the party needed collective leadership rather than being dominated by any particular individual.

His theme was endorsed by a delegate from the North Rand constituency, Freda van Rooyen, in a speech which captured the new Democrats mood.

"I am an Afrikaans-speaker from the *platteland*," Van Rooyen explained, "and I noticed that it's those with the safest seats in parliament and the strongest power bases who are for the single leader."

"You don't know what it's like to be out there in the political desert trying to persuade people to join. There are thousands of Afrikaners out there who think like we do and long for a political role but are still scared. For them, we must keep the troika."

Her speech emphasised the urgency with which many of the new Democrats felt that the party had to grow quickly and beyond the traditional areas of opposition support—by broadening its appeal and forging a new identity.

It also emphasised a growing feeling, both among the new Democrats and many rank-and-file old Progs, that the leadership should pay far greater attention to the views of ordinary supporters.

Indeed, a resolution, proposed by the Young Democrats and passed unanimously, called on the national executive to draw up a report on the congress resolutions and take it back to party formations to demonstrate the accountability of the party leadership to the members.

So, part of the new Democrats' strategy is to make the party really democratic within its own ranks and not dependent on its leadership.

Then there is the missionary element: trying to ensure that the DP reaches out to white people, showing that there is a path to a new, non-racial South Africa.

A third element of the strategy was that the DP must reach out to the extra-parliamentary organisations and build up links with the broader democratic movement.

This was reflected in a resolution from by a key figure in the new Democrats, Dr Esther Lategan, who fought for a parliamentary seat in Stellenbosch in 1987 and Maitland in 1989 with considerable success even though she failed to win either seat. The DP should build up these lines, Lategan said, both in single issue campaigns and by participating in local structures.

The party's politics was not just about the elections, she explained. The challenge was to mobilise South Africans for an inclusive democracy for every South African.

A broad spectrum of activities had to be developed to promote this aim, including participation in specific programmes, such as education and environmental affairs, and in local community structures.

Her resolution also called for the establishment of "interaction committees" in the different regions and the appointment of full-time staff to develop support and keep the party's public representatives and members informed. There was one vote against the Lategan resolution, that of Harry Schwarz.

The new Democrats' strategy still has to be carried out, but it captured the mood and spirit of the DP congress. Former NDM and "fourth force" people captured the lion's share of the elections for the national executive and national council.

Interestingly, apart from Simon's Town MP [Member of Parliament] Jannie Momborg, former members of Denis Worrall's Independent Party were virtually sidelined in

the struggle for the soul of the new party. The old PFP members, however, are still there, though without the dominance they wanted.

* Prospects for Growth of DP, CP Analyzed

34000201A Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
26 Oct 89 p 12

[Article by Nic Olivier]

[Text] An analysis of the 1989 general election leads to some interesting observations and conclusions. The first—and one of the most important—is that, in terms of general public support, only the White House of Assembly enjoys legitimacy and credibility.

About 69 percent of registered white voters turned out to vote for candidates put up for the House of Assembly, whereas the percentage in the colored House of Representatives was no more than 25 percent and for the Indian House of Delegates no more than 15 percent.

As the tricameral system has been in operation for a full five years, the conclusion is inevitable: the present constitution is unacceptable to the vast majority even of the colored and Indian population groups.

And as blacks are entirely excluded from participation in this constitution, it is obvious that a new constitution is an absolute sine qua non for peace and stability in SA [South Africa].

In the House of Assembly the NP [National Party] retained clear control—despite heavy losses and despite all the expectations of a “hung” Parliament—and is thus also in control of the executive arm of government.

The large number of candidates put up by the three main parties (NP, CP [Conservative Party] and DP [Democratic Party]) gave white South Africans the opportunity to express themselves quite clearly regarding their party-political preferences.

The NP put up 164 candidates, the CP 131 and the DP 103.

The three major parties spent large amounts of money on advertising, the NP probably more so than the others; but in terms of this and news coverage in the newspapers and on TV, each of the parties had sufficient opportunity to present its case to the white electorate.

In other words, lack of success cannot be ascribed to poor communication or coverage.

In terms of elected MPs the NP with 93 lost about 30 seats, the CP increased its membership to 39 from 22 (retaining its status as Official Opposition) and the DP from 19 to 33. There will probably be a by-election in Fauresmith, and successful court applications have been made for a recount in some other seats.

Through the mechanism of indirectly elected and nominated MP [Member of Parliament], the NP has

increased its membership in the Assembly to 102, the CP to 41 and the DP to 34, giving the NP a clear majority of 27 at this stage.

The CP improved its position considerably, by 136,168 votes to or 24.8 percent. However, if one were to deduct the 57,352 difference in the voting figure for the HNR between 1987 and 1989, and assuming the vast majority would have supported the CP, the CP growth since the last election was not nearly as impressive.

The DP polled considerably more votes than its “predecessor”, the PFP [Progressive Federal Party], increasing its total vote by about 108,000 compared to 1987. (These figures include my calculated votes for the uncontested seats.) However, I have excluded the votes polled by the “independents” in 1987. If these were to be added to the PFP totals for 1987, my rough estimate is that the DP’s “improvement” on the 1987 PFP figure could be in the region of about 95,000.

The increase in the DP vote is particularly noticeable in the Transvaal, the Cape and Natal; in the Free State the DP’s share has remained totally negligible.

The NP polled less than 50 percent of the votes in this election, the first time since the 1950s; in that sense it no longer represents the majority of the white electorate. The NP lost heavily to both the CP and the DP.

Including an apportionment for unopposed seats, from 1981 to 1989 the NP increased its voter support by 192,437, but its overall percentage of the vote decreased from 57.8 percent to 47.7 percent and its representation in the House from 131 to 93 seats.

The “right-wing” parties increased their voter support between 1981 and 1989 by 467,393 (from 15.1 percent to 31.3 percent overall) and now have 39 members in Parliament.

In 1981 the parties “left” of the NP (the PFP and the NRP [New Republic Party]) jointly polled 402,092 votes and had 34 members in Parliament. It would appear that what the DP achieved in 1989 was to get many former NRP voters to support it (which the ill-fated “alliance” of 1987 failed to do); but in essence the DP in 1989 has not done better, in any real sense, than the combined “left-wing” opposition in 1981.

It did increase its voter support by 48,799, which is minimal compared to the increase in voter numbers and to the increase in the support for the NP and for the “right-wing” parties over this period.

The 1989 election results could perhaps best be described as the election of unfulfilled expectations and ungratified hopes:

- The NP foresaw that it would lose support (both in voter percentage and in representation in Parliament) to both the CP and the DP but it did not expect to lose as heavily as it did;

- The CP seemed to be fairly confident that it would take between 50 and 60 seats;
- Some of the leaders of the DP seemed equally confident that it would take somewhat more than 40 seats; and
- Both the DP—at least, some of its leading personalities—and the CP seemed to be convinced that a “hung” Parliament was a probable outcome of the election.

I feel it is unlikely that the two opposition parties will experience a political climate as favorable to their chances of deposing the NP as the ruling party as was the case in this election.

My analysis of the regional distribution of votes leads to the conclusion that the DP's strength lies at present exclusively in the English-speaking, mainly urban, centers; and its growth potential for the future, with a few minor exceptions, seems concentrated in these areas.

In the Free State, the Transvaal platteland and Cape rural areas, the DP is irrelevant as a party-political factor.

In terms of the realities of the SA situation, as they appear at this stage, it would seem no more than an idle dream to think that Afrikaans-speaking voters will come over to support the DP in sufficiently significant numbers to make any real difference to its fortunes.

My analysis also indicates the CP is almost entirely dependent upon Afrikaans-speaking voters; if it wants to grow to any appreciable extent, it cannot hope for a major injection of support from English-speakers leaving the NP—which, at this stage, seems unlikely.

In general, this leads to the conclusion that the CP has limited growth potential.

And the NP? From the above analysis, nobody will be able to deny NP claims that, of all the political parties, it is indeed the most representative of white SA voters, inasmuch as it draws sizeable support from both language groups and in all areas of the country.

However, if it wants to prevent a further erosion in its power base, it will not only have to retain the support it has, but attempt to woo back some of the Afrikaner support it has lost to the CP and some of the English support it has lost to the DP. Whether it is capable of doing so, time alone can tell.

- Olivier heads the DP research department. His figures are calculated from published results, not the recently gazetted official 1989 election figures.

* NGK Efforts at Racial Reconciliation Viewed

34000183C Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English
29 Oct 89 p 10

[Article by John MacLennan: “Holy War Against Apartheid”]

[Text] The NGK [Dutch Reformed Church], which once sought to justify the National Party [NP]'s worst excesses through scripture, is now embarking on its equivalent of a mini holy war with the aim of sacking the remaining bastions of apartheid.

It is considering a national “peace conference” and wants its parishioners to come up with hard answers on how it can achieve racial reconciliation.

The initiative places the NGK—the largest Afrikaans church—in direct conflict with the Government over the legal foundations to discrimination and a senior church spokesman this week claimed: “We are no longer the NP at prayers.”

The Western Cape Synod has produced a working document titled “Peacemakers Today” which is to be circulated to all its churches as well [as] the governing General Synod Commission with a request that the conference take place next year.

In it, members are asked to “identify and handle” in “concrete fashion” the causes of unrest and polarisation, and to initiate means of changing both structures and attitudes in a campaign of reconciliation.

The NGK's information director in Cape Town, the Rev Lafras Moolman, conceded the church's initiative would place it in conflict with a Government which is still wedded to such basic discriminatory measures as the Population Registration Act, but claimed: “It doesn't matter to us whether we are in conflict with the Government or not. If we find anything it not in line with scripture, we will tell them.”

The church regards the move as a practical exercise in Christianity which its critics will regard as long overdue. Dominees are still to be found opening party congresses with prayer, and have traditionally found no difficulty in equating the milestones of apartheid with the teachings of the Old Testament.

The hardest evidence of the new commitment was provided by the NGK's recent intercession with President de Klerk on behalf of the organisers of Cape Town's protest march, the first in the recent history of the country and one which opened the way to what the Government now terms “civilised protest”.

Church leaders have now confirmed that they managed to gain agreement for a peaceful protest from the organisers and that the Government's decision not to interfere was solely based on this undertaking.

The decision to roll up the NGK sleeves follows the synod decision that “the church does not fill its role as peacemaker by making all sorts of nice-sounding official statements about what must be done.”

Now the church is addressing the legacy of Government policy by asking parishioners to become personally involved in the search for peace. The most solid of these would be what the working document terms “local

reconciliation actions designed to provide Christians from the various sections of the population with a greater understanding of one another's living world, needs and standpoints..."

It also asks parishes to institute think tanks which will decide on questions such as the biggest causes of the current unrest, how these obstacles to peace can be removed, who can make the biggest contribution (including the Government), and which obstacles make it difficult for the NGK to act as a reconciliator.

The call for answers goes not only to the white church, but those synods serving blacks, coloureds and Indians.

The answers they provide, promises Western Cape moderator Dr Dirk Hatting, will be conveyed to the Government.

He believes the most important role the church has to play lies in establishing a climate which will make for negotiation and that it may be of fundamental importance to the future that answers are sought by practising Christians.

To be even clearer about this: "The church can concentrate on a variety of points which can get negotiations going and accomplished."

He adds: "The church must also work towards identifying friction points in society and systematically set about creating reconciliation among people and groups of people."

This last sentence would indicate that the NGK is not too far in advance of Government thinking because of the reference to groups, but the tone of his remarks and the report add up to a mea culpa which shows that even the church is now prepared to set new goals for the NP leadership.

Dr Hatting also concedes that there is much that is wrong in this country. "The church must lead the community towards forgiveness of each other.

"There are many things which are wrong and people and groups can compile long lists of the things which they hold against each other...we must learn to forgive, to turn together to the future and to start working on it."

In doing so, he does not see his church providing anything more than straight Gospel. It is not supposed to become a wise purveyor of smart political ideas of ideology.

It is the church's hope, in the cynic's view, that in this stance it might both recover from its unsavoury past and establish a new role as some sort of holy honest broker.

If that can be accomplished, Dr Hatting holds, the church can do much to improve relationships among people. The NGK's troops in this exercise will be your average person in the pew.

"In the end people have to live together in normal life with each other. It is possibly the biggest step to begin with a change of attitude among people...the church must contribute."

In another instance of his view of the church's role in future peaceful political moves and the closeness of its thinking to that of Government, he states that would-be negotiators should not bind themselves to preconditions because this might scupper talks.

"The conditions for negotiations must be abandoned and even the agenda must be a mutual exercise. If that does not happen a checkmate position will be reached which will make future negotiation difficult."

And in a major recantation of the NGK mark-of-Cain justifications which provided blacks with a less than ordinary human status in the past, he said: "All measures which are hurtful and break down human dignity must be removed.

"The Government must be encouraged to take part in negotiations which will lead to a fair deal for all the people of our country."

* HNP Leaders Urge Loyalty to 'Volk'

34000177C Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English
21 Oct 89 p 8

[Article by Keith Abendroth]

[Text] Delegates to the 20th birthday congress of the Herstigte Nasionale Party [HNP] in Pretoria yesterday renewed their resolve to fight for the survival of the Afrikaner—stressing that in the present political climate the HNP was the only true representative body of the "volk".

The Piet van der Walt Theater at Pretoria's showgrounds was packed to capacity for the one-day congress, and feelings ran high with delegates lambasting the government for "selling out" the country.

Various motions were discussed and passed following the formal opening by the party's national leader, Mr Jaap Marais. Delegates particularly expressed strong criticism of "the growing Socialism of government".

It was decided that the country's economy could be saved and revitalized only by ending the particularly "socialistic" policy of equal wages and living standards.

This said delegates, was the root cause of the "oppressively high" tax rates, of inflation and high interest rates which, said Mr Louis Bothma, were robbing young White couples of the right to live a happy, normal family life.

One motion demanded the restoration of economic order, stability and security by slashing state expenditure, simply by stopping the "creation" of money by the Reserve Bank.

Delegates also demanded that the government set specific yearly expenditure targets which would ensure the inflation rate being reduced to not more than 3 percent a year within the next five years.

Delegates also demanded that price control be instituted to help bring down the inflation rate; and condemned the selling off of state assets because this would inevitably result in "greater monopolization and economic slavery".

Proposed by Mr Bothma and seconded by Mr Koos Hough, the resolution continued: "The country's economy must be delivered from the monopolistic grips of the organized money power, for real free enterprise to be established—at a higher level than pavement trading".

On the position of the Afrikaner in constitutional developments, Mr Wouter Rust alleged, in presenting a motion, that concessions by the government had created a revolutionary atmosphere which, whether at the conference table or through force, could end only in Black domination.

The motion, firmly rejected any form of power-sharing with non-Whites, stressing that the HNP stood firm by a unitary form of government with one White parliament for a White South Africa.

It also rejected the concept of a "White reservation"—an island of Whites in their own state surrounded by a Black-ruled South Africa.

Afrikaners Aiding Their Enemies—Marais

The leader of the HNP, Mr Jaap Marais, said yesterday "true Afrikanerdom" was facing the biggest challenge in its history—and that the threat was worsened by the enemy onslaught sheltering behind and using people with Afrikaner names and surnames.

In a message to the 20th birthday congress of the party in Pretoria yesterday, Mr Marais said Afrikaners could take consolation in the fact that it was always darkest before dawn.

"We must remain true to our nature and origins, principles and ideals. History has shown that the foundation on which we stand is the indestructible power of Afrikaner nationalism," he said.

"The call of the Afrikaner cannot be cancelled by the false tracks and exploitation of Afrikaners who give preference to the alien above faith to their own," said Mr Marais.

Afrikaner nationalism would "steamroll" over these leaders—as had happened before in the country's history.

He called members of the party to renew their pledge to "continue the fight" and said this was the only way they could maintain their honor and self respect.

What was happening now, he said, was the end process of the wheels set in motion by NP [National Party] leaders after the assassination of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.

"Clearly, as before in our history, a section of the Afrikaner people is promoting the enemy cause, through ignorance, cowardice or submission to exploitation.

"Clearly, our integrity will be tested to the utmost."

The HNP, he said, was the undisputed representative of Afrikaner nationalism in the present political climate—the same nationalism which had been such a dynamic factor in the history of South Africa.

"And whenever there is thought of solutions or ways out, it is good to realize that Afrikaner nationalism often bloomed best at times when the government was not in the hands of Afrikaner nationalists," said Mr Marais.

* CP Derides White Liberal Opposition Groups

34000192A Pretoria PATRIOT in English
13 Oct 89 p 10

[Text] Without quite realising it, many White liberals are as much part of the revolution as are those who perpetrate violence and plan the destruction of the status quo in South Africa.

Some of the organisations which have mushroomed as much because of White guilt as for any other reason are:

- The Five Freedoms Forum [FFF]. Launched in 1987, it has given respectability to the revolutionary movement. Carefully avoiding any connection with the UDF [United Democratic Front], it is heavily funded by, among others, the United States government and the Anglo American Corporation. The FFF believes surrendering to the ANC [African National Congress] is a precondition to attaining a South African Utopia.

The FFF has played a notable role in facilitating ANC contact with the White left. It was the FFF which recently organised (and paid for) the 115-strong delegation of Whites which journeyed to Lusaka for talks with 50 ANC officials, the biggest such safari yet from South Africa.

The Black Sash. Given careful play by the English (and increasingly) the Afrikaans press, its image is one of concerned ladies holding placards outside Wits University in Johannesburg.

The Black Sash has been in the forefront of establishing contact with the ANC. With around 1,000 members, it is today a nation-wide organisation with a well-developed infrastructure of offices and equipment, all used in support of groups in the frontline of revolutionary action.

Jodac. The Johannesburg Democratic Action committee has been called in the President's Council "a front for the South African Communist Party."

Launched in 1983, it immediately affiliated itself with the UDF. It represents the core of the self-styled "White Democrats." Its role is to exploit White fears and to then mobilise Whites to join the revolution. Jodac spearheaded the 1986 "Call to Whites" campaign seeking to mobilise the White population against the status quo.

The Consultative Business Movement (CBM) is a declared member of MDM [Mass Democratic Movement] and describes itself as a "consolidated group of business leaders supporting transformation to a non-racial, democratic South Africa." The CBM has taken the lead in punting "post apartheid" scenarios to the private sector, all the time strenuously seeking to allay business fears of an ANC socialist takeover.

NUSAS (the National Union of SA Students) is well known for its radical control of student organisations at, particularly, English universities in South Africa. Controlled by the militant left, it has politicised thousands of South African students and has done incalculable harm to academic life in South Africa.

Jews for Social Justice (JSJ) is South Africa's radicalised Jewish left. Formed during the State of Emergency in 1985, the organisation was represented in the Five Freedoms Forum pilgrimage to Lusaka. It has attempted to involve Israeli socialist groups in anti-South African action and vocally supports mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

* CP Denies Buthelezi's 'Moderate' Politics

34000190A Pretoria PATRIOT in English
6 Oct 89 p 11

[Text] A little retrospection does no harm, especially within the fast-changing South African political mosaic.

There was a time when Chief Buthelezi, head of Inkatha and Chief Minister of Kwa Zulu, was punted as the saviour of White South Africa; he was the moderate whom we could trust and who was "acceptable" to the outside world.

For all his PR efforts to promote himself as a future Black leader of a unitary South Africa, incidents keep popping up like mushrooms after rain which show quite clearly that Chief Buthelezi and, by extension, Inkatha are anything but the moderate salvation White South Africa has been waiting for.

In the Durban Supreme Court last week, it was alleged that recruits at the Kwa Zulu Police College have been "urged" to become members of Inkatha. This membership will have serious implications concerning the necessity of police neutrality during peace talks between Kwa Zulu and the UDF [United Democratic Front].

In another incident, Kwa Zulu Member of Parliament and senior member of Inkatha's Central Committee, Mr Winnington Sabelo, has allegedly warned teachers in Kwa Zulu that they would be considered "traitors" if they did not join Inkatha.

Kwa Zulu is continually plagued by faction fighting and tribal warfare between UDF and Inkatha supporters. Kwa Zulu is the most violent, bloodthirsty place in South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi's thinly-veiled threats to White South Africa are regularly publicised, yet his country is South Africa's basket case: Kwa Zulu contributes exactly 1 percent of the tax paid into Natal's coffers.

Despite all this, gullible Whites are still heard extolling the virtues of the "moderate" Chief Buthelezi. What they don't realise is that the Kwa Zulu head has an extremely efficient press service which is charged with putting the Chief on the political map.

When naive business and social groups invite Chief Buthelezi to speak at their lunches and dinners, do they see him as their future leader? These Whites should look deeper into the background of this Black leader before they commit their and their children's futures to "reform" and an inevitable Black South Africa of which Chief Buthelezi would surely play a leading role.

Chief Buthelezi has every right to rule Kwa Zulu (if the Zulus want him). By the same token, Whites who so desire have every right to demand that they be ruled by their own people. They are not prepared to have "moderate" Blacks foisted upon them simply because the press, the British government and the American State Department say so.

* Ultrarightwing Afrikaner Mythology Created

34000193B Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 13-19 Oct 89 p 13

[Article by Ivor Powell; first paragraph in box]

[Text] A cosmic battle rages between good and evil; the Children of Israel and Satan; whiteness and blackness. So we are told in the gospel of the far-right, full of Christian motifs which mask un-Christian motives.

A far-right rally in Pretoria's Church Square. Alongside the inevitable banners demanding "Hang Mandela" and "Free Barend Strydom," there is one rather curious slogan: "Israel Loves Yahweh."

This Israel is not the country in the Middle East. It is Afrikanerdom, whose God-ordained mission is the preservation of white purity in South Africa.

Obscure though they may seem, the sentiments are as integral to the cause of the Afrikaner extreme rightwing as its first proto-martyr, Barend Hendrik Strydom.

The notion of Afrikanerdom as a new Israel goes back to the Great Trek and the "Covenant" with God made at the Battle of Blood River. But the major contemporary prophet of the idea of the Afrikaners as a chosen nation is a Vereeniging cleric, Pastor F.W. Naser.

Neser is a prolific publisher of his own works, which bear titles like "The Origin, History and Destiny of the White Race, Christianity and Communism and No Stranger Over Thee."

One of his major works, running to five pamphlet volumes, is a treatise entitled "The Ten 'Lost' Tribes of Israel." In it he demonstrates at great length that the Jews, far from being the chosen people of God, the "true Israel," are lapsed, racially impure and part of the great work of infamy which the Antichrist is perpetrating. At great length he describes the wanderings of the lost, pure tribes and their eventual deliverance as...you guessed it, the Boers of South Africa. Where they inherit a divinely ordained task—to keep their race pure from miscegenation, which is the work of Satan, whose spiritual blackness finds echoes in the dark skins of his minions.

Strydom and his fellow Wit Wolwe, like the extreme rightwing in general, are not the bitter fruit of some unholy immaculate conception. They are the logical outcome of underground currents in white culture in South Africa.

For many years, groups of far rightist ideologues have been putting out propaganda, diversely masked as political analysis and theological exegesis. Strydom and his fellow Wit Wolwe are all too understandable if you read some of these.

"Adam was a white man as can be very easily proved by the fact that Jesus was the express image of God, and Jesus was white because he was a direct descendant of David who was 'ruddy and withal of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to'...Have you ever seen a 'ruddy' black man, one who can blush?"

Thus writes F.W.C. Neser, MSc, and he will send you a free catalogue of books, videos, pamphlets and cassettes if you write to him at his Vereeniging postal box.

In the "Origins..." Neser goes on to demonstrate that the white Christian nations are none other than the 10 lost tribes of Israel. The Jews, by contrast, racially impure, descended from the seed of Esau, whose name, connoting hairiness, clearly links him to devil-worshipping and the genetic machinations of Satan.

The Jews, Neser goes on, have tricked the world into believing that they constitute the "true Israel."

"This is also why the Jews believe they are soon going to be masters of the world. All major wars of the past century have been planned with this in view."

Rabid, proto-Nazi anti-semitism is merely one of Neser's subplots. The major concern is black-white racism, thinly disguised as obscure Christian scholasticism.

Neser seeks to convince us of a cosmic battle being waged between the forces of God and whiteness on one side, and Satan and blackness on the other. The black races, as he sees them, are black because they are not filled with the white light of God, because they are

caught in the darkness of superstition and ignorance—and because Satan and his progeny have had something to do with their ancestry. It is both the destiny and the duty of the pure white races to bring the light of the gospel to these benighted.

Apartheid thus becomes little less than a sacrament. "...the devil is stirring up the nations to fight World War III, and also to remove the last retaining walls that have saved the world from being inundated with the black and yellow races. Should this happen the pure white nations will be absorbed and there will be no trace left on earth of the image of God."

Thus is international pressure for change rendered as something to be resisted at all costs: "This is why our South African policy of apartheid is such an abomination in the eyes of the world. It is the only principle that is still against this tide of colour that has been caused deliberately to overflow the earth."

But when all seems lost for this last bastion of God's law, Christ will have His second coming and the devil of non-racialism will be defeated.

It is sobering to think that this is the kind of literature that Strydom was weaned upon.

His father, Nic, was referring to the writings of Neser in particular when, during his son's trial on charges of multiple murder, he was posed the question of whether he considered blacks to be human beings.

Strydom senior pondered at some length before declaring that it was a difficult question. Some writers, Strydom senior said, are of the opinion that blacks are in fact closer to animals, but he himself liked to keep an open mind on the issue.

What is even more sobering is that, while he languishes on death row, Barend Strydom continues to be exposed to such literature.

In accordance with prison regulations, prisoners "are spiritually ministered to by religious workers of their church or faith... (they are provided with) religious literature furnished by their religious workers."

Neser himself is not one of the six visitors to Strydom at Pretoria Central Prison's death row, nor could it be ascertained whether or not he has access to Neser's literature specifically. But, as prison comment made clear, it would fall within the range of the literature he was allowed.

One of the people who is included on Barend Strydom's visiting list—along with family, childhood friends and, of course, fiancée Karin Rautenbach, is Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder, whose views closely echo those of Neser.

A recent convert to the abolitionist side—at least in relation to political prisoners—in the row over the death penalty, Van Tonder stressed that "Strydom was fighting

for freedom. Violence is wrong, you can't blame the man when it's the country which is at fault. Strydom is a political prisoner like Mandela, not a common criminal," he said.

A curious bit of apocrypha, though irrelevant in itself, would seem to give some credence to Van Tonder's claim. Before he went on his Strijdom Square rampage, Strydom put money into the meter in the parking space where he left his car. He also insisted on using a licensed firearm, rightwing sources claim. He didn't want to break the law.

*** Conservative Party Policy in Various Towns Viewed**

*** Middelburg Climate Changing**

34000196 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
26 Oct 89 p 17

[Article by Therese Anders]

[Text] You won't find any obvious signs in Middelburg that the town is controlled by a CP [Conservative Party] council.

The suburban parks in this Eastern Transvaal industrial and coal mining town were closed to blacks soon after the municipal elections a year ago today, but no race signs have been erected.

In fact, the by-law has never been policed and black people are regularly seen enjoying the town's lovely parks.

Most of Middelburg's public amenities—library, swimming pool and Kruger Dam resort—were already segregated under the previous Nationalist council.

What has changed is the interaction between the white town and its satellite black, Indian and coloured communities.

On taking power, the Conservative Party council immediately stopped the Nationalist inspired inter-community body "Midcoc" which had met monthly to discuss and solve problems of mutual concern.

It also pulled out a similar district organisation, which subsequently collapsed.

"There has been a virtual breakdown in communication between the council and the Indian Management Committee," says chairman Mr M. Pilodia.

"Previously, two white councillors always sat in on our meetings so they could report to council on our matters.

"Yet despite our continued invitations the CP have only once sent a representative about 10 months ago, and that was when we had a crisis."

Uproar

Mr Pilodia said the CP council had caused several uproars in his community.

"They wrote to the management committee saying they would not issue new permits to Indian businessmen wanting to move into the CBD [Central Business District], then without informing us they built houses in a House of Delegates development area as two instead of three-bedroom units.

"Now they say our HOD allocation for a badly needed swimming pool has expired, even though the Administrator of the Transvaal gave his permission two years ago."

Said Mr Pilodia: "The CP council has damaged relations between our two peoples."

The chairman of the Mhluzi Democratic Alliance, Mr Sydney Kunene, agrees.

"A recent example was when the Middelburg council had a public meeting to discuss the implications of the proposed Iscor mine which affected both our communities equally.

"Their race restrictions on the town hall meeting meant there could be no healthy relationship between the two communities."

Mr Kunene said the taxi rank "fiasco" where for the past three months the CP has refused to open the terminus because of white residents' complaints was another case.

"They rejoice with our money in their pockets when we blacks come to town, but by closing the taxi facility and toilets it shows they couldn't care less what happens to us afterwards when we have to get home carrying our heavy parcels."

The local Democratic Party chairman, Mr Hendrik Esterhuysen, said as a white resident of the town he had "thankfully" noticed little visible change since the CP took over.

Middelburg's CP council has surprised many opponents with its pragmatism.

"This is probably the most verligte CP council in the Transvaal," said a developer involved in the town's soon to be built private hospital.

The hospital would be open to all, the council knew it, and he had experienced no problems.

*** Northern Transvaal**

34000196 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
26 Oct 89 p 17

[Article by Dirk Nel]

[Text] Pietersburg—Several Conservative Party [CP]-controlled town councils in the northern Transvaal have

adopted stalling tactics in respect of party policies since being elected a year ago.

But the Louis Trichardt and Potgietersrus councils have made no secret of the fact that they are determined to implement CP policies at every opportunity.

Earlier this year, Potgietersrus councillors expressed their solidarity with the Boksburg Town Council's "whites only" stand and recently cracked down on multiracial sport in the town.

A council decision to disallow a multiracial marathon was recently overturned by a Supreme Court order after an urgent application by the local athletics club.

In Louis Trichardt there is virtually no contact between the town council and the Indian community of Eltivillas.

The council also recently opposed attempts by the Afrikaanse Sakekamer and the Soutpansberg District Development Association to upgrade a black village in the municipal area.

In Pietersburg no CP policies have been implemented, with multiracial sport continuing unhindered. No "whites only" signs have been erected in parks, municipal offices, or toilets.

The town secretary, Mr Tom van der Hoven, says there is regular contact between the town council and the management committees of Westenburg and Nirvana townships.

The town clerk of Nylstroom, Mr Pine Pienaar, said there were cordial relations with nearby black and Indian communities and regular dialogue was maintained.

In Phalaborwa delegations from the townships of Lulekani (Gazankulu) and Namakgale (Lebowa), are working out a joint development strategy with the council.

*** Carletonville To Appeal**

34000196 Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English
26 Oct 89 p 17

[Article by Kaizer Nyatumba]

[Text] Early this year the CP [Conservative Party]-controlled Carletonville town council followed Boksburg's lead and reintroduced petty apartheid.

The resulting black consumer boycott was much more intense than in Boksburg; more businessmen were put out of business and a number of people lost their jobs.

The town council refused to rescind its policies, arguing it was merely enforcing the NP [National Party]'s law.

The Carletonville Chamber of Commerce took the town council to court, asking that its decision be nullified.

In what was widely regarded as a watershed judgment, the Pretoria Supreme Court ruled in favour of the Chamber and ordered that the "whites only" signs be pulled down.

The town council's decision, the judge said, was harmful to the town.

The CP, however, immediately let it be known it would appeal.

*** Conservative Party Holds Transvaal Congress**

*** Threat of Violence Denied**

34000199 Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN* in English
27 Oct 89 p 8

[Article by Fred de Lange]

[Text] Although there were veiled threats at the Conservative Party [CP]'s Transvaal Congress that the Afrikaner volk might have to resort to violence to prevent the country from being given away, Deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, denied that violence was contemplated.

One delegate warned that there would not be a bloodbath when the CP took over, but that such a bloodbath would come if the CP did not take over the government.

Another senior member of the party warned the State President Mr F.W. de Klerk, that should he release the "powers of revolution" upon the Afrikaner, he should know that the volk would use its right to defend itself.

Questioned on the "threat," Dr Hartzenberg said the threat was not based on violence, but on other means.

Delegates, however, kept referring to the "volk not being prepared to sit with folded hands to see their country being handed to the ANC [African National Congress]."

A resolution was also passed in which the government was warned not to pass "the breaking point of revolution" in their plans for a new South Africa.

Yesterday's open session of the congress focused mainly on government plans to implement a Bill of Human Rights.

The discussion was led by Mr Chris de Jager, who said while the CP believed in basic rights for a nation, it could not accept individual or groups rights.

"It is wrong to reduce a nation to a mere group. The Afrikaner is not a group, we are a nation and in the same way the Zulu or any other nation cannot be called groups," he said.

Mr De Jager said groups had no right to protection, while nations had such rights.

A Bill of Rights could be used to protect the rights of nations which would make oppression within nations impossible.

The NP [National Party] and the Law Commissions proposed Bill of Rights were severely criticised from the floor with most attention being focussed on clauses protecting the rights of association, as well as the rights of disassociation.

Delegates wanted to know how it was possible to disassociate yourself from somebody if he in turn had the legal right to associate himself with you or your group.

A Mr Van Rooyen of Randfontein went further. He said people had no rights, only privileges. "The concept of human rights comes from the devil. It is based on cheap humanism," he said.

The CP's unsuccessful candidate in Innesdal, Mr Mossie van den Berg, said the government had no mandate to rob the Afrikaner of its rights.

He asked the congress to pass a resolution calling on the CP leadership to ensure that the party used all the power it had to ensure that CP policy was implemented.

"We should not allow the courts to scare us. Let us go ahead with our policy in those municipalities that we control and leave it to the courts to create chaos," Mr Dan den Berg said.

Mr Fanie Jacobs said the CP would not accept a Bill of Rights and warned that should the NP try to implement such a Bill, "it would revolutionise the South African community."

He said the government should rather look at the rights of a nation and said the CP believed in the following rights for a nation:

- The right to exist;
- The right to protect its existence;
- The right to an own fatherland or state;
- The right to own citizenship;
- The right to an own government;
- Language and culture;
- To order its own economy; and
- The right to defend itself.

A resolution was passed by the Congress according to which a committee would be formed to investigate the Bill of Rights and report their findings to the party leadership.

In closing the debate, the leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht said the CP was not against human rights as such but had problems with a Bill of Rights because it was taking away the rights of a nation.

*** CP Afrikaners' 'Bastion'**

34000199 Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN in English*
27 Oct 89 p 8

[Text] The deputy leader of the Conservative Party [CP], Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg, yesterday called on the Afrikaner nation to "gird its loins" and get ready for battle.

The CP, he said, would be the Afrikaner's bastion.

Speaking at the Transvaal congress of the party, he said the National Party was trying to get the Afrikaner to ready himself for surrender.

*** Marches, Releases Condemned**

34000199 Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN in English*
27 Oct 89 p 8

[Text] The Transvaal Congress of the Conservative Party [CP] yesterday condemned the government for what it termed as the "release of revolutionary powers" in South Africa.

In a resolution passed by the congress, the CP condemned the government for releasing ANC [African National Congress] leaders without them having rejected violence.

It also condemned the government for allowing protest marches which, the congress said, were bringing South Africa to "the brink of revolution."

The government was also condemned for allowing ANC and South African Communist Party flags to be displayed without acting against the people who did so.

The congress said in its resolution that with this action the government was itself encouraging the revolutionary climate in South Africa.

"The NP [National Party] and Mr De Klerk have created expectations of great things to come.

"But just as Mr De Klerk had to admit defeat in his educational policy in Parliament last year, he will find that a time will come when he would have to admit defeat on his constitutional plans," he said.

Mr Hartzenberg said Mr De Klerk had gone far on the way to surrender, but warned that the day would come when the Afrikaner would get up and use everything in his power to fight for his freedom, fatherland and beliefs.

Every nation, he said, wanted to govern itself and the time had come for the CP to mobilise its forces and fight for its policies.

He said Mr De Klerk did not understand the Afrikaner nor the ANC. Even the British Empire had not been able to break the Afrikaner.

"Now we are much stronger and the ANC cannot be compared with the British Empire. We are not afraid of the ANC. We will not allow such an organisation to rob us of our freedom."

He said what Mr De Klerk did not realise was that the ANC wanted to govern South Africa, and by negotiating with it Mr De Klerk was leaving not only White nationalists in the lurch but also Black nationalists.

"Mr De Klerk allows himself to be blackmailed by threats of isolation and the letting of blood. Bloodless and without a fight he is allowing himself to be forced into surrender," he said.

*** CP-MP Appeals to Conservatives in U.S.**

34010053A Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans
28 Aug 89 pp 1, 2

[Text] Pretoria—According to a letter written in his name, a Conservative Party [CP] member of parliament is seeking money from conservative Americans in order to expand the circulation of his propaganda publication, PATRIOT, during the election campaign.

The letter was sent to conservative Americans in the name of the CP's main spokesman on economic affairs, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis. In it, he asks them to help the CP financially. The parliamentary masthead appears on the letter.

Neither Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, chairman of the CP's finance committee, nor Mr Koos van der Merwe, the CP's head of propaganda, knows anything about the attempt to raise money.

Among other things, the letter contends that the NP [National Party] "intends" to hand over the country, piece by piece, to the black Marxists within 5 to 10 years, and that the NP has already "announced" that after the election it will enter into a coalition with the Democratic Party [DP] in order to retain a majority.

The letter says that the election will determine whether South Africa will remain a free, civilized Western nation. The goal of "our Conservative Party (CP) is to ensure that our nation is not destroyed."

It goes on to say that "we have been sold out by people in Pretoria and Cape Town who are more interested in getting along with the liberals in the U.S. State Department than in saving South Africa."

"The government intends to surrender the country, piece by piece, to the black Marxists within the next 5 to 10 years."

It could not have seemed more obvious if President (P.W.) Botha had invited condemned terrorist Nelson Mandela to tea at the presidential mansion.

Then there is the Democratic Party [DP], which wants to surrender South Africa immediately. The DP believes that Africa must see a repeat of the now-famous one man, one vote, one time.

"As you can imagine, the situation here is desperate, with the white population continually being brainwashed by the government and the leftist press to capitulate."

The letter says that it is thus urgently necessary to expand the circulation of PATRIOT so that it can reach every household in certain electoral districts.

"As you know, the press is under the control of the government or Harry Oppenheimer (who is slightly to the left of your own Senator Kennedy). As a result, the leftists have a monopoly on nearly everything. It is not easy to fight Harry Oppenheimer—one of the 10 richest men in the world. Besides PATRIOT, South Africa has no nationwide conservative newspaper," the letter says.

The latest opinion poll that was done before they were banned before the election shows that the CP is running neck and neck with the NP. "It has already been announced that the NP will enter into a coalition with the DP in order to retain power after it has lost its majority.

"However, what they do not know is that the conservative wing of the NP will not accept this. Many NP members of parliament have already hinted that they will join the CP after the election in order to ensure that South Africa will survive as a civilized bastion in a sea of anarchy."

According to the letter, people can buy "gift subscriptions" or advertisements in PATRIOT. A gift subscription of \$100 (270 rands) will help the CP get its propaganda publication to 50 voters during the election, while an advertisement of \$1,000 "will allow us to reach another 500 families."

*** Court Rules Against CP Town Council**

34010052B Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans
1 Sep 89 p 2

[Text] Johannesburg—The resolution by the CP [Conservative Party] controlled town council of Carletonville to apply petty apartheid to that town's parks "was passed exclusively in order to promote a political philosophy, and is so grossly unreasonable that I feel forced to reach the decision that the town council has not acted in good faith."

This was the pronouncement made yesterday by Judge C.F. Eloff at the Supreme Court in Pretoria in nullifying a resolution by the town council to erect signs indicating that only whites have access to parks. He also ordered that the town council pay the court costs.

Judge Eloff said in a written ruling that the resolution was "adopted exclusively in order to promote a political philosophy, and is not to the benefit of the town's residents." The town council also failed to give adequate attention to the matter.

Three Carletonville businessmen last week filed an urgent petition that the resolution, which was adopted on 29 November of last year, be declared null and void.

Judge Eloff said that he can find no indication that conditions before October 1988 were such that anyone was considering keeping blacks out of parks in Carletonville.

Losses

The testimony before him showed "unquestionably" that businesses have suffered severe losses. "It was to be expected that nonwhites would see the resolution as an offensive, insulting, and humiliating act towards them and would initiate visible protest."

Judge Eloff referred to the three businessmen's statements. Mr Sorrel Waks, the manager of a hardware store in Carletonville, said that his business has been supported by all races for the last 30 years.

Store

Black purchasing power in the town accounts for around 20 percent of sales. Mr Waks is a registered voter and taxpayer in the town.

Mr Abdul Bhamjee, an Indian who has had a store in Carletonville for 15 years, has experienced financial losses because of a consumer boycott.

According to Judge Eloff, Mr Bhamjee is "a member of the public on behalf of which the town council, in accordance with Article 63 of Local Government Ordinance 17 of 1939, holds the parks in trust for the use and benefit of the public."

"As a nonwhite, he is now one of the people who will be committing a crime by entering the park, if the resolution remains in effect."

Mr John Motsau, the owner of a tavern, feels that his "human dignity is offended by the resolution" and that he has "an interest in maintaining good human relations in the town council's jurisdiction."

Concerning the legality of the council resolution, Judge Eloff said, "The city fathers of Carletonville, relative to parks to which Article 63 of Ordinance 17 of 1939 is applicable, have an obligation that extends beyond just the voters or the majority of the voters."

"According to that article of the ordinance, the parks in question are legally set aside and appropriated for the use and benefit of the public."

Judge Eloff pointed out that the word "public" has a much wider meaning than "taxpayers." It includes all races and population groups.

*** Sisulu Speaks at COSATU Education Conference**

34000882B Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 27 Oct-2 Nov 89 p 20

[Text] COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions]'s second National Education Committee (Nedcom) conference, which took place against a rapidly changing political background, ended on a high note last weekend after being addressed by senior ANC [African National Congress] leaders including Walter Sisulu.

Former trade unionist and Rivonia trialist Wilton Mkwayi emphasised in his address the need to strengthen the trade union movement and to ensure greater control of the economy by workers and participation in the new government.

Khetsi Lehoko, who was re-elected national education secretary, said in an interview with NEW NATION that there was strong emphasis at the conference on developing education programmes that were designed to respond to the rapid changes taking place in the political sphere.

"This will be our priority in the next two years," Lehoko added.

Cosatu general secretary, Jay Naidoo, said at the beginning of the conference, that the federation's education programme must be developed in the context of the advances that have been made against apartheid.

"It must address itself to our principal task of intensifying the mass struggle on the ground, building mass-based sectoral structures and non-racial organisations among the youth, civics, students, women and the workers."

"Our debates and resolutions must deepen working class consciousness and leadership at all levels of our struggle and establish the ideological hegemony of our class."

"This is the only path to power," Naidoo told the conference.

In this context, the conference decided to explore the establishment of a workers' college which would train educators, organisers and administrators.

"Nedcom will investigate this possibility and we will draw on the experiences of other countries, for example the colleges established by the French trade union federation, CGT," Lehoko said.

While delegates also agreed in principle with the establishment of night schools, they pointed out that the federation must first consider whether it had the organisational capacity to run these schools.

The question of the workers' charter was also discussed and the conference set a time frame in which to make definite advances.

One of the first steps to be taken towards the development of the charter will be a meeting of Nedcom and Cosatu's Central Executive Committee members.

It is hoped that this meeting will emerge with a draft questionnaire that will be circulated among the federation's members.

Among the questions that are likely to dominate discussion will be the right to strike, health and safety, ownership and control of the economy, the right of workers to organise themselves into political parties or trade unions, the right to work and the right to a living wage.

Conference delegates also set themselves a time limit within which to meet other sectors of the mass democratic movement [MDM] and Nactu [National Council of Trade Unions].

It is hoped that the first meeting with these organisations will take place within three months of last week's conference.

In line with the Cosatu congress' resolution to encourage debate and discussion around the ANC's constitutional guidelines, and an understanding of the document, the Nedcom conference decided to make this an integral part of its education programme.

Delegates stressed, however, that unlike the workers charter campaign, the constitutional guidelines campaign should be the initiative of the entire MDM.

"The workers charter campaign must be spearheaded by the labour movement," Lehoko said.

He added that the workers charter and constitutional guidelines campaigns were important in the context of what was happening politically.

One of the most important tasks that still remains is developing a mass approach to education.

Lehoko said that in the last two years since the first education conference, significant progress has been made in decentralising education and that more responsibilities were being taken on by the affiliates.

To this extent, affiliates had employed educators and established education departments of their own, he said.

"Although we were not able to implement the agreed programme as a whole, activity has increased at national, regional and local levels," Lehoko pointed out.

And in the next two years before the third education conference, Nedcom will concentrate on achieving a greater level of coordination. This will enable the more successful affiliates, like the NUM [National Union of Mineworkers] and Numsa [National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa], to feed their experiences into the smaller unions.

Messages of support were received from the ANC, Sactu [South African Congress of Trade Unions], the World Federation of trade Unions and the KMT federation of the Philippines.

* Recent ANC Diplomatic Successes Reviewed

34000881C Braamfontein WORK IN PROGRESS
in English Sep/Oct 89 pp 16-17

[Article by Jenny Cargill; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] With the entry of negotiations into the political agenda, a certain fuzziness developed around the African National Congress [ANC] strategic perspective. But there has been some clearing of the air as a 'spring

offensive' for the home front joins a now well articulated and advanced diplomatic offensive.

A new confidence is evident in the African National Congress as the outlawed liberation movement registers recent diplomatic successes and prepares for a home front offensive in a climate of growing political ferment.

But its operational commanders are disinclined to euphoria.

Acknowledged difficulties in building the underground have prompted more sober assessments than was apparent during the 1984-86 uprisings.

On 21 August in Harare, the ANC won its most significant advance by ensuring international acceptance of its proposals for a negotiated settlement on the South African conflict.

Except for a small amendment, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Ad Hoc Committee on South Africa accepted the ANC's negotiations recommendations as its own Declaration. The committee undertook to lobby for it internationally—the first taker was the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in Belgrade in early September. NAM in turn will take the Declaration to the United Nations Security Council, and the October Commonwealth Summit is also expected to consider it.

ANC handling of this diplomatic offensive has highly impressed world leaders, say diplomatic sources. It succeeded in striking a fine balance between making sure that its proposals were widely canvassed, both in and outside South Africa, and not letting the regime know what its next move was.

While its first document on negotiations was widely circulated, the Declaration itself—which, according to ANC sources, included inputs from debate on the first document—was kept under wraps until the OAU Ad Hoc Committee meeting.

In brief, the Declaration calls for the creation of a climate for negotiations by, for example, lifting the state of emergency. Thereafter negotiations would kick off on the issue of a cessation of hostilities. Then the principles for a new constitution would have to be agreed upon—the ANC document outlines it believes must be included. This in turn would be followed by negotiations on international involvement in this process and on the establishment of an interim government, which would draw up a new constitution.

Few doubt that South Africa is still in the 'pre-pre-negotiations stage,' as one western analyst put it. But the sensitivity of the ANC to the current international preference for negotiated settlements to conflicts has enabled it to score some important political points:

- first, the process of winning international acceptance of the ANC setting the agenda for negotiations is well under way. Pretoria's earlier international offensive has undoubtedly been neutralised, with the regime's focus still locked into breaking its isolation;

- second, and most important for the ANC, the OAU has accepted the principle that the people of South Africa should be responsible for negotiating their future, rather than having it imposed from outside.

The actual constitution-making mechanism would have to be negotiated. 'But,' said a leading ANC official, 'our proposals uphold an important principle of the ANC: that the masses are involved in the re-making of their country. We are very concerned that the process of negotiations is accepted as legitimate at all levels so that the product it produces becomes legitimate.'

third, underlying the proposal for a ceasefire between the ANC and Pretoria is an acceptance of the legitimacy of the armed struggle. The South African demand—backed by key Western governments—that ANC renounce violence is, says one ANC official, 'a very strange notion, a new principle in international relations: that the use of force to achieve political objectives is unacceptable.'

'No such principle was applied to the Vietnamese, Zimbabweans, Angolans, Mozambicans, or even Swapo [South-West African People's Organization]. It was kind of cooked-up for us.'

That notion, the ANC argues, is now in retreat, with even Pretoria vacillating in its demand for a renunciation of violence.

The return of exiles, which has featured in other formulations on creating a climate for negotiations, is not mentioned in the ANC/OAU proposals. Said an ANC official: 'Logically, we do not think the return of exiles can be a precondition. It is a matter which is related to the cessation of hostilities. If you put it as a precondition, and the regime accepts it before a ceasefire is negotiated, what guarantee is there for the safety of our cadres?'

Similarly, the document makes no mention of the shape of the negotiating table. But the absence of a metropolitan colonial power to act as the midwife of independence, such as in Zimbabwe, means the ANC sees Pretoria negotiating as an equal partner. The table is thus necessarily two-sided. 'On the one side there are those forces that recognise a non-racial democracy and on the other there are the forces that represent the perpetuation of racism and apartheid,' said an official.

He added: 'What is happening in south Africa is precisely the formation of those two sides. The whole notion of an anti-apartheid coalition—the conference banned last year and planned for this year—is of building those forces that represent a non-racial democracy, the group which would sit on one side of the table. And whether there will be negotiations or not, in the end that united anti-apartheid force will be the basic engine for change in South Africa—whatever form that change takes.'

The entry of negotiations onto the political agenda created some fuzziness around the ANC's strategic perspective. The notion of seizure of power through insurrection—the articulation of which grew out of the township rebellions of 1984-86—appeared for a time to have been usurped by the prospect of a negotiated settlement.

But the ANC has argued assertively that there is no contradiction between its strategy of seizure of power and acceptance of the possibility of negotiations.

One official argued that seizure of power, as a means of transferring power to the people, cannot 'be a matter of immutable principle.' But, he said, it would require more than the possibility of negotiations to change ANC strategy; it would require a change in conditions. No such change had taken place.

Negotiations, the ANC has argued, are themselves part of the terrain of struggle, and it cannot be left to others to call the shots.

Underlining its unchanged strategy is the ANC's 'spring offensive,' articulated in part in a new *Call to the Nation* under the slogan 'Press Home the Attack.' The leadership has also announced its intention to intensify armed struggle as part of this offensive.

The key elements to the call are:

- intensification of mass activity, particularly through the defiance campaign;
- the transformation of armed campaigns into people's war through the joining of the masses in combat with Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres;
- the building of a broad anti-apartheid force.

A number of factors underlie the call, particularly for the defiance campaign, argues a leading ANC official.

Repression in the last few years has made it necessary to re-define the legal space of the mass democratic movement [MDM]: 'If the MDM was to base itself on legality, it would find itself not acting at all', since the legal space has been progressively narrowed since the declaration of the state of emergency in 1986.'

Mass action should complement the current need for consolidation of organisation.

Mass action would also help to 're-emphasise the question of political power, and the need for the transfer of power to the people,' he said.

The official argued that the popular refusal to accept Pretoria's repressive measures would force the government to retreat to another line of defence.

Finally, economic, international and white political pressures make the regime particularly vulnerable to heightened political opposition.

But, he said, 'as the revolt assumes more revolutionary forms, a point will be reached at which the MDM will

not be able to take it further. This is where the ANC and its underground becomes crucial.'

The 1985 Kabwe Conference put insurrection on the agenda, endorsing the view of many ANC militants that classical guerilla warfare could not constitute the main thrust of the ANC's efforts. The experience of township struggle at that time gave content to this strategic outlook.

Since then the ANC has grappled with the strategic problem of drawing the masses into insurrectionary struggle. Among the most pressing problems has been organising an adequate underground, and transforming armed campaigns into sustained revolutionary armed activity.

These difficult problems, say ANC officials, involve tackling issues of tactics, organisation and logistics.

The outlawed organisation believes conditions in South Africa support the overall strategy of the insurrectionary seizure of power as the means of achieving liberation. But the ANC's strategy and tactics are still in the making—a process which ANC cadres say they are being drawn into in preparation for the third Consultative Conference next year.

They say cadre involvement in questions of the shape and character of the underground struggle, for example, is evidence of the leadership's desire to deepen democracy within the liberation movement.

* Success of Defiance Campaign Assessed

34000881A Braamfontein WORK IN PROGRESS
in English Sep/Oct 89 pp 5-8

[Article by Jo-Anne Collinge; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The success of the MDM [Mass Democratic Movement]'s defiance campaign indicates more than mass rejection of apartheid and the repression which maintains it. It is also a reflection of the enormously increased expectations ordinary South Africans have about their future.

When, on 15 September, South African Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane marched to John Vorster Square at the head of thousands, his mission was directed at the police station where, eight years before, he had been detained in the cell next to Neil Aggett.

At the end of the march, Chikane and other leading clerics handed a memorandum on police brutality to the station commander at John Vorster Square. Then he turned to face the crowd massed outside, under the twin flags of the ANC [African National Congress] and the Communist Party, to lead them in singing Nkosi Sikele'i Afrika.

The significant—but incomplete—twist of history that the scene represented did not escape the man who had witnessed Aggett's inert body removed from his detention cell.

After the march, Chikane commented to the press that the official decision to grant permission for mass demonstrations in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria did not reflect a 'change of heart' on the part of the government. It was, Chikane said, a necessary state accommodation of persistent mass struggles.

The protest marches were largely part of the month-old Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) defiance campaign—a campaign designed to challenge both the racial discrimination of apartheid and the security laws underpinning the survival of the minority regime.

The overwhelming size of the Cape Town march on 13 September and the speed with which the Johannesburg and Pretoria marches gathered ground two days later—in the absence of any burning local issue—magnified a central feature of the defiance campaign itself: the existence of a widespread political consciousness which enabled people to be mobilised even where organisational networks had not recovered from three bruising years under state-of-emergency rule.

It was surely this consciousness which gave the defiance campaign its wide appeal. What else could have drawn thousands to picnic on 'all white' beaches? What else caused students to march in remote Phutaditjaba, prompted workers to challenge residential and canteen segregation on the mines, drew pupils in the Border region to demand admission to white schools and prompted challenges to hospital apartheid even in Free State towns like Welkom.

The massive stayaway on election day—the largest in South African history, estimated to have been observed by three million workers—signified that a very broadly-based political culture had taken root. Vast numbers of people knew what action was expected of them even where the state of emergency made it impossible for this to be conveyed openly through mass communication media.

There are suggestions of an additional dimension to this upsurge in political activity. At an anti-election meeting in Actonville on the East Rand, National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa spoke of 'the sweet smell of freedom' permeating the villages, townships and workplaces of the country.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, addressing the Cape Town march, was more forthright. 'We say, hey Mr de Klerk, you have already lost... Our march to freedom is unstoppable. It is the march of all of us South Africans, black and white.'

Put in more mundane terms, the tide of expectations is swelling in an unprecedented way. There is the prevalent

belief that this time increased political pressure will deliver the real prize: a non-racial, democratic system of government.

The second salient feature of the mass protests in particular and the defiance campaign as a whole was the obvious and unrestrained support for the ANC.

In Cape Town, where a human mass of anything between 25,000 and 80,000 marched behind the ANC flag, Congress of South African Trade Unions general secretary Jay Naidoo addressed the crowd, saying: 'Today we have witnessed the might of our people. We have witnessed the might of our people under our flag—the green, black and gold flag.'

He went on: 'We are saying that our leaders Oliver Tambo and Joe Slovo are indeed the people who will be sitting in the parliament of the future.'

In Johannesburg, where both the ANC and SACP (South African Communist Party) flags were prominently displayed and where a greater proportion of the crowd comprised seasoned activists, pro-ANC freedom songs were sung for the duration of the one-hour procession.

In the defiance campaign a large number of activities related to the 'unbanning' of organisations outlawed under emergency and security laws. This involved meetings being called under the auspices of organisations prohibited from doing so; banners and T-shirts of these organisations being displayed; and office bearers and representatives of the organisations appearing on public platforms.

Where such 'unbannings' of MDM-aligned organisations took place, a simultaneous defiance of the ban on the ANC almost invariably occurred. Where people unbanned the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), they also unbanned the ANC. Where they illegally flaunted their UDF [United Democratic Front] T-shirts and banners, they also unfurled the black, green and gold flag. They did so even while enjoying the unlawful pleasures of Durban's officially-white Addington Beach.

The first month of the defiance campaign was, in large measure, about legitimising the ANC. Even the anti-election campaign, in contrast to that waged during the 1984 tricameral elections, had little to do with discrediting the candidates for the houses of delegates and representatives. The campaign was much more concerned with establishing an alternative vision of the future, using the ANC's constitutional guidelines as a touchstone.

The third observable trend during this time of mass protest has involved the alignment of groups and individuals outside of the main extra-parliamentary resistance movement with activities enacted by this dominant oppositional force.

The number of clerics, professionals, liberal politicians, academics and high-profile business people on both the

Cape Town and Johannesburg marches was highlighted in the commercial press. While few of them would themselves hoist the ANC flag, it is significant that they would rather be associated with those who do so than with the apartheid regime and the actions of its armed forces.

It is not far-fetched to speak of the attainment of hegemony by forces representing the Congress tradition.

The non-violent nature of the marches, which took place in streets bare of police, was trumpeted by the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation]. In truth, despite the grim utterances of law and order minister Adriaan Vlok, the defiance campaign protests were equally peaceful in their execution, but were often met with state violence which drew occasional retaliation.

Violence—or at least the potential for violence—lies not in the mass defiance campaign at all, but in the government's response to the moving force behind these demonstrations—namely, the enormously increased expectations ordinary South Africans have about their future.

It is trite to say that the desire for change arises from the conditions of apartheid itself—the experience of poverty, discrimination and wholesale subjection to the powers of the armed forces. It is more useful to note that this desire is channelled and formed both by historical factors and present reality.

There are several elements in the immediate political climate charging the hopes of the oppressed.

- Firstly, there is the widely-reported fact that the South African government is under concerted pressure from its traditional Western allies to negotiate a transfer of power with representative leaders of the people.
- Secondly, with Namibian independence unfolding next door there is evidence that Pretoria can be induced to surrender power. The success of struggles against colonialism in South Africa has always given South African resistance a fillip—Namibia more so than any other, because the colonial power in question is the apartheid government itself.
- Thirdly, there is tangible evidence of the international credibility of resistance forces with even Pretoria's allies. Not only has the Bush administration talked of expanding contacts with the ANC, but the UDF has secured talks with key heads of state.
- Fourthly, there is the emotionally-charged climate that elections for the minority parliament have come to generate. This time the tension has been heightened by the 'reform' campaign of the National Party itself. The disenfranchised have read the campaign for signs to confirm international pressure on Pretoria. State President F.W. de Klerk's statement that the door is open to those who seek change and that there is no need 'to batter it down' is received with both scepticism and optimism.

There can be little doubt that popular expectations are fixed on a particular form of change, involving no less than the transfer of political power to the majority and, in many cases, a restructuring of the economy.

To the extent that political movements shape popular consciousness over and above the teachings of experience, two traditions have moulded the ideas of the supporters of the present MDM—the 77-year-old nationalist tradition of the ANC and, to a lesser degree, the socialist course pursued by the South African Communist Party. After the banning of these organisations, their guiding ideologies found only intermittent expression in mass organisation—until the late 1970s and early 1980s.

This era saw the emergence of militant trade unions which won legitimacy for organisations of the working class, and student organisations openly basing themselves on the Freedom Charter.

The overtly racist and anti-democratic nature of the tricameral parliament galvanised those who supported the notion of a non-racial democracy into action to form the UDF in 1983. The legitimacy of state structures was challenged at every level; township struggles—around housing and education—were at one and the same time about power and poverty.

The wildfire multiplication of UDF affiliates and the consolidation of unions in Cosatu—the country's biggest labour federation—is history. So too is the insurrectionary form that resistance took after the Vaal uprising of September 1983. These circumstances enabled the outlawed liberation movements to expand their underground political work, consolidating their traditions of struggle.

When the national state of emergency was declared in June 1986, Cosatu and the UDF had already adopted the principle of pursuing 'unity in action.' It is this strategy which is embodied in the notion of the MDM. Whether the notion of an active alliance would have solidified as the 'MDM' if the UDF had not been effectively banned is open to question.

The elusive MDM, so real an influence but quite without structure, is an illustration of how the state of emergency failed. State security systems could outlaw organisations, but they could not remove from activists the experience of organisation. They could inhibit communication, but they could not control thought.

South African liberation forces, without recovering their organisational ground, are still readily mobilised. And this, it can be argued, contributes another crucial factor to the present escalation of expectations: a sense that resistance can survive the might of apartheid, that there is something to the slogan 'people's power.'

The government, as much as anyone else, must be conscious that failure to meet the expectations generated by this combination of developments and perceptions could be disastrous.

It must be asking whether for the first time the potential does not exist for widespread insurrection, which could occur across the land, outstripping even the impact of the regional uprisings from 1984 to 1986.

Ironically, moves by the government to accommodate expectations in some measure may also fuel resistance, in that they would confirm people's sense that their own actions can achieve results. Increased demands would be made. Organisation would feed off its own success and the pressures for change would be incremental.

Both the hopes of the oppressed and the resignation of sections of the ruling group to change are pinned on a reading of international opinion that concludes even Pretoria's traditional allies are not prepared to tolerate apartheid.

The defiance campaign, though referred to by some MDM representatives as an effective 'dismantling of apartheid,' has been largely an exercise in strategic protest. As explained by Mohamed Valli Moosa before his detention, it was devised particularly to expose the National Party 'reform' plan as a sham and underscore that what F.W. de Klerk had on offer did not represent an end to apartheid.

The greatest danger for the MDM is that the international community—especially Britain and the United States—might relieve the pressure on De Klerk on the grounds of his promises and his appearance of moderation; they might accept token human rights concessions as down payments on future unspecified moves to democratic rule.

If this happened, demands inside the country would not dissipate, but De Klerk would have a freer hand in countering resistance. He could return to the tactics of his predecessor.

Indeed there is still some doubt as to whether he has forsaken these tactics, a doubt based on the strangely dualistic character of state security responses to the defiance campaign, including its anti-election component, and to the schools crisis in the Western Cape.

At the level of rhetoric, heavy 'law and order' utterances by National Party candidates—most notably Adriaan Vlok—in the run-up to the election can be ascribed to the need to secure the right-wing element in its ideologically spread-eagled constituency.

Daily, the press and SABC announced government crackdowns on the MDM. And while certain actions were taken, detentions did not even begin to approximate the pattern which was maintained almost consistently for 30 months of the national state of emergency—that is, until the hunger strike in February and March this year.

Nevertheless, repression remained a major issue, even if there was a gap between the Vlok rhetoric and the reality.

Repression generally took on quite new contours: those of containment or pre-emption, rather than confrontation. In many cases this required huge contingents of police and soldiers. Where this general strategy was not observed and confrontation did occur—as in the Western Cape and some remote areas—the force used by the state was considerable.

This force was nearly always disproportionate, since it was generally inflicted on people whose sole offence was to attend a meeting prohibited in one way or another.

Aware of the damage that the sjambokking of civilians does to its foreign image, government attempted to prevent meetings happening rather than breaking them up. It did this by a combination of banning orders, flooding the proposed venues with armed forces and armoured vehicles and roadblocking either supporters or scheduled speakers.

In many cases those committed to the principle of defiance held meetings at alternative venues despite the imposition of bans. The replacement meetings were—inevitably—smaller than the originals would have been. When, equally inevitably, they were disrupted by police, the confrontation was reduced in scale.

The Human Rights Commission [HRC] calculates that at least 56 meetings were broken up by the armed forces from the start of the defiance campaign to election day and that the state refrained from violence in only 19 instances. It commented that there appeared 'to be no policy of "minimum force."'

Where meetings were not banned, a different form of pre-emptive state intervention frequently applied. Large contingents of riot and security police were deployed inside and outside meetings, apparently in an attempt to deter attendance, dampen the militancy of speeches and curtail open debate. This tactic was used extensively against the anti-election campaign of the Transvaal Indian Congress and, more prominently, at the workers' summit.

In another image-conscious move, the authorities substituted mass charge-and-release procedures for detention without trial in the case of activists apprehended during protest action. At least 2,000 people were arrested and charged in demonstrations within the space of five weeks, according to the HRC.

In the Western Cape the alleged brutality of the police in the build-up to the elections and on the night of the poll has been widely reported. It is common cause that at least some of the 23 deaths reckoned to have occurred that night were caused by police shooting.

It is equally clear that the level of resistance in the Cape had far exceeded the dimensions of protest. The defiance campaign there fed into well-organised and long-standing resistance focused on education.

The HRC observes: 'The severity of police repression in this area also indicates that police are acting to smash the well-organised and highly-motivated Western Cape Students Congress which has been rebuilding itself despite being restricted.'

The fact that two people were killed in the Peninsula at a vigil held on the very night of the peace march, and that kits konstabels (instant cops) are alleged to be implicated in this, underscores the suggestion by the HRC.

The Western Cape experience also suggests that any attempts by De Klerk to curtail security action without simultaneously moving to address the fundamental political questions will necessarily be self-defeating, since popular opposition will not find indefinite expression in protest marches. Those who marvel at the Pretoria Spring of 1989 would do well to heed this.

* Imminence of ANC Power Struggle Denied

34000180B Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English
29 Oct 89 p 10

[Article by Sefako Nyaka: "Claims of ANC Power Tussle Denied"]

[Text] The release from jail of Mr Walter Sisulu and six other African National Congress [ANC] veterans will not result in a power struggle in the organisation, according to National Reception Committee member and South African Youth Congress president Mr Peter Mokaba.

"Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo represent the collective leadership of the national democratic revolution in this country," Mr Mokaba said this week.

This was confirmed by sources close to both the external and internal wings of the ANC.

Soon after the release of the seven—Mr Sisulu, Mr Oscar Mpetha, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Mr Wilton Mkwayi—speculation was rife that they would displace existing office-bearers in the ANC.

It was also speculated that the power struggle would climax with the release of Nelson Mandela, expected in the first half of the new year.

The speculation is believed to be a direct result of the Government's interpretation of a speech the leaders made soon after their release.

Conditions

The Government claimed the leaders had added new conditions to the ANC's document on negotiations, thus suggesting they were acting out of step with the ANC in exile.

President F. W. de Klerk's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, accused the ANC of avoiding and running from negotiations.

He said the ANC's latest preconditions, set out in its document on negotiation in June, was a "rigid canonisation" that destroyed space for negotiation.

Leaders who, in principle, truly wished to participate in negotiations had to stop acting evasively and laying down preconditions.

They had to have the courage to come forward and take part.

Dr Viljoen also accused the ANC of "internationalising" negotiations and said this would make it even more difficult for leaders in South Africa.

However, Mr Mokaba said the recently released ANC leaders had not, at their press conference, added any new conditions for negotiations in South Africa, as Mr de Klerk had claimed.

What that leadership had stated was what the Organisation of African Unity had already endorsed, he said.

And that in itself smashed all the myths the Government had been trying to plant—"that when Mr Mandela, when our comrades are released, there's going to be a power struggle".

Mr Mokaba said a power struggle would exist in the minds and ranks of the Government alone.

Speculation about a leadership struggle comes about despite the fact that at the time of the Rivonia trial, when Mr Mandela, Mr Sisulu and others were sent to jail, none held an official position in the ANC.

Barred

Before the trial they had been served with restriction orders barring them from holding any office in any organisation.

And even before the restrictions only Mr Sisulu, who was deputy president, held national positions.

Mr Mkwai, Mr Motsoaledi, Mr Mlangeni, Mr Mhlaba and Mr Mpetha held positions only within the regional structures of the organisation.

Mr Kathrada was an executive member of the Transvaal Indian Congress before joining the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The organisation has since been completely restructured and provincial positions scrapped.

The present leadership was elected at Morogoro and the released leaders would have to be elected at a properly constituted conference.

Judging by their age, it is highly unlikely that any of them will stand for election if the ANC holds such a conference.

All seven leaders have indicated that they would "carry out whatever task the organisation and the people might ask us to do".

But it is believed their task would be more in an advisory capacity.

The men themselves have scoffed at the idea of establishing an internal ANC structured along the lines of Swapo in Namibia.

*** Sisulu Discusses Prospects for Negotiations**

34000178A Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English
22 Oct 89 p 19

[Report on interview with ANC's Walter Sisulu by Sefako Nyaka, date and place not given]

[Text] I have no doubt in my mind that we have a very bright future in South Africa.

Even if the economy collapses now, the wealth we have in this country, human resources, the minerals we have, will bring us up and South Africa will be strong again.

This will happen once we are working together, once apartheid has been done away with and all resources, human and otherwise, have been pulled together.

Negotiations, I am really not qualified to talk about. But what I can say is that since the ANC [African National Congress] was formed, we have wanted to negotiate.

It was the Government that refused to talk. Even the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe was the result of the Government's refusal to talk. We were the first to call for a conference of the people of South Africa after the Kliptown Freedom Charter.

This was in 1961 and it made (Mr Nelson) Mandela go underground. The Government refused to talk.

Today the Government is going back, as far as I am concerned, to what we proposed in 1961: that people must come together and negotiate on how we are to live as people of South Africa—black and white.

Today they want to come forward and think that now it is their idea when they have copied something that was proposed long ago. Therefore the ANC will never refuse negotiations. But the Government has never, as far as I know, invited the ANC to talk.

When you talk to a few people here and a few people there and turn around and say "my door is open", who are you to go there? Who mandated you to negotiate? The ANC remains banned.

The question of the unbanning of the ANC depends on the Government's willingness to do so. They are the ones who indoctrinated their people and continue to do so. They are the ones who created this ogre of the ANC being wild terrorists bent on murder and mayhem.

We want the ANC to be unbanned completely. I am not going to encourage people to ignore the restrictions on the organisation.

There are people who talk about guarantees. The ANC cannot start making guarantees while the present system exists. The ANC says to the Government: remove the obstacles that prevent meaningful negotiations—like the lifting of the ban on organisations, the return of exiles, the lifting of the state of emergency and all the other demands people have been making.

Only then can we jointly come together and agree on what is right for everybody. The Government talks of minorities but we say we are all South Africans. There will be no need for any group or minority to be protected because there will be laws that protect everybody.

The growth of the movement which believes in the unity of the people in a non-racial, democratic South Africa is gaining ground. It is gaining ground even among the white ruling class and Afrikaners for that matter.

I am not minimising the problems which have been created over centuries. We now have the right wing and it is going to create a lot of difficulties. There are elements who are conservatives and who want to intensify the other way round. But the majority of the people of South Africa are being educated.

The political consciousness of the people is higher than it has ever been in the history of this country. And this political consciousness is not only among the blacks, even within the Afrikaners there is a new outlook, a new education, an understanding of the situation and the feeling that we are pursuing a wrong course.

That is why there are conflicts within the National Party because some of them see that the answer is discussion between the leaders of the country. The Government has realised that its military operations will never crush the movement. There is only one way, let us talk.

What makes the Government talk about talks is pressure, political actions from inside the country and from outside the country.

On the question of Mr Mandela I need to mention that he has gone into the struggle because he is concerned with the future of South Africa.

When we were still on Robben Island and the Minister of Justice and other officials came, they held discussions with Mr Mandela and he openly discussed the question of the policy of the organisation.

When he has a chance of meeting the Ministers, naturally he is interested in discussing things: "How are you looking at the situation, what are you planning, what do you want to do?"

He is initiating some form of discussion, not negotiation, to say that whatever else you do there is no future in South Africa unless you meet the demands of the oppressed people.

It is helping them look at the situation differently when they meet a man of Mr Mandela's stature and are able to exchange views.

Take the question of our release. It had been on the cards for a long time. They had wanted to release me but had problems. Mr Mandela took it from there and said unless you release them all, your actions will have no effect, it will be meaningless.

He would have been happy to be with us. He would have accepted his release anytime. Mr Mandela is the type of man who, when speaking to the authorities, would not make any demands for himself. He would be more concerned about his colleagues.

At the moment we would not even begin thinking of negotiations while Mr Mandela is still inside. I think until such time he is out, the question of negotiations is out. If the Government has to think of early negotiations they are forced to release him.

I think the Government has its own difficulties and problems. But Mr Mandela does not talk about his own release. He is talking about the general situation, he is talking about his colleagues. He knows that their release will ultimately bring him home.

He has considerable influence on the Government and he is in constant contact with them.

On the question of what people term a lull in Umkhonto we Sizwe activities, I think it is a question of logistics. I don't think there has been a deliberate effort to say that at this stage there must be a toning down of the armed struggle.

I have no information, but my personal impression is that the general attitude of the ANC is intensification, particularly at this stage of the campaign against South Africa at all levels. That will also include the armed struggle. As long as the Government does not negotiate, the armed struggle will be there.

While in prison we did make it our duty to keep abreast of political events inside the country. A prisoner makes it his duty to keep himself informed just as a tobacco addict will go out of his way to get tobacco.

There were periods when two, three months would pass before we heard of the event. Just like the '76 uprising. The Soweto uprising took place in June 1976. In August 1976 when Mr Eric Molobi (former executive member of the restricted NECC) and the crowd arrived after being sentenced it was the first time we heard of the Soweto uprising.

The '76 uprisings were inspiring. It was inspiring to see the children take a decision saying thus far and no

further, saying we are tired of oppression. It was significant that it was not merely a one-day affair. There was a continuation and the spirit was clearly demonstrated in various centres and it was clear that a new era was beginning in the political consciousness of our people.

The other events that were inspiring were the coming into being of organisations such as Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions], the UDF [United Democratic Front]. That inspired us. Especially because we had organised mineworkers before the start was very impressive.

I have never experienced the feeling of being at the lowest. We had our difficult times in prison. In the beginning the warders were really brutal, but it was the pettiness, the vindictiveness that was irritating. Like when they came into the cell at any time of the night or day and demanded you move for no apparent reason.

We used to come back from work on a very cold day. No hot water. We were stripped naked and just passed through a cold bath of sea water because there was no fresh water.

Mr Mandela and I were once punished and given a diet of rice water for three days for allegedly not working hard enough.

But there were moments when I felt in high spirits. Every time there was movement, there was a successful strike, something was happening that raised my spirit even more.

As a whole things were moving in a beautiful way. I am impressed by the spirit of the people, but I just heard this morning that four people are going to be hanged. This upsets me.

*** Jay Naidoo Discusses Challenges Facing Struggle**

34000171B Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 20-26 Oct 89 p 7

[Interview with COSATU and MDM leader Jay Naidoo]

[Text] Following the victory of the release of seven ANC [African National Congress] leaders, the challenge now is to take forward the struggle for a democratic, non-racial and unitary South Africa.

Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and MDM [Mass Democratic Movement] leader Jay Naidoo looks at these challenges.

[THE NEW NATION] What are the major tasks facing the MDM at present?

[Jay Naidoo] Firstly, there is a need to clarify what the MDM is as there seems to be confusion. The MDM is a movement, not an organization.

At its core is the strategic alliance between Cosatu and the UDF [United Democratic Front].

These are mass-based organizations based on sectoral lines—for example, youth, workers, students, women and civics.

The core is committed to a unified ideological perspective, namely a commitment to non-racialism, democratic practices and grass-roots accountability, the primacy of African leadership and leadership of the working class, and a commitment to the Freedom Charter.

The MDM also recognizes the centrality of the ANC in reaching any solution in the country, and we have a common position on negotiations.

We are also united by a programme of mass action aimed at smashing apartheid and rebuilding South Africa along the lines of the [Freedom] Charter, and asserting socialism in the country.

The principle tasks facing the MDM at present are to rebuild and strengthen mass-based sectoral organizations and to strengthen the core of the MDM. The mass struggle must be intensified, and we must develop one vehicle for the masses to ride in to liberation.

One of the most important challenges facing the MDM is the fullest democratization of our structures. We need to operate according to mandates and accountability.

We need to urgently form a national civic organization, built from street committees right through to regions, then to the national formation.

In this context, Cosatu has called on all its structures, from shop stewards' councils to locals, to actively involve themselves in developing democratic organs of people's power.

[THE NEW NATION] The releases have been hailed as a major victory for the struggle of the oppressed masses. What is the significance of the releases for the MDM?

[Jay Naidoo] The central issue that has emerged from the releases is the role and profile of the ANC itself, as the seven are ANC leaders.

Even the government itself has been forced to recognize the importance of the ANC and that it has a major role to play in solving South Africa's problems.

The ANC is the primary vehicle for building a non-racial, democratic and unitary South Africa.

The releases have sharpened this perspective, and have created the conditions for building non-racialism. The people in this country are ready for a non-racial South Africa and we need to put a lot of energy into building non-racial sectoral organizations.

[THE NEW NATION] You have spoken about the need to intensify mass struggle. Could you take this further, looking specifically at how the Defiance Campaign should be developed?

[Jay Naidoo] The Defiance Campaign (DC) unleashed new energies in the struggle and was able to galvanize thousands of people into action.

We need to translate these energies into organization and to extend the strategic perspective of the core of the MDM.

The creativity of the masses must determine the pace and programme of the DC.

The focusses of the DC are two-fold: firstly, on the broad political level, demanding the establishment of a climate for negotiations by the unbanning of the ANC, release of all prisoners, the safe return of the exiles and the lifting of the state of emergency.

Secondly, and very crucially, the DC must focus on issues affecting people on the ground such as homelessness, police brutality, the need for better facilities like running water, lower rents, etc.

[THE NEW NATION] How does the MDM plan to organize the rural areas more effectively?

[Jay Naidoo] A major weakness of the struggle is that it tends to be urban-based. Very few resources are channelled to the rural areas to build democratic organization there.

The potential for division between employed and unemployed, and between highly paid urban workers and highly exploited farm workers, could be a serious setback for our struggle.

Many rural communities are fighting massive battles against being incorporated into homelands, and the levels of violence against democratic organization in these areas is very intense.

We need to pay serious attention to the rural areas, especially in the context of what is happening in the Transkei, the movement of chiefs especially in Natal towards the MDM and the development of Contralesa [Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa].

These developments are very positive as they show that the mass struggles of our people are convincing more and more people that the solution to our country's problems don't lie in the balkanization of South Africa, but in the establishment of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

Within Cosatu, there are large numbers of migrant workers. These workers are now taking their experience of organization back to the rural areas, and are starting to form village committees.

One of our key tasks is to organize workers in border industries and those who have been relocated to homelands by employers who want to escape the organized might of Cosatu.

* Anti-Apartheid Group Aims at Afrikaans-Speakers

34000201C Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 27 Oct-2 Nov 89

[Article by Gavin Evans]

[Text] The first-ever anti-apartheid organization aimed specifically at Afrikaans-speakers is being launched.

The policy document of the Afrikaanse Demokrate (AD) was completed last night, and the new organization's 50 active members are expected to turn out in force under an AD banner at Sunday's welcome home rally for the eight released political leaders.

"We've found that a lot of Afrikaans-speaking people are hesitant to join other organizations because they don't feel uncomfortable with the language or style," AD representative Linda Dietrich said this week.

"What we're trying to do is create a bridge facility for people who want to feel part of the broad movement in our society."

She said the new group would not be ethnically based and would be open to anyone. Most current members are white and "colored" people whose first language is Afrikaans.

No decision has been taken on the question of affiliation to the United Democratic Front, but Dietrich said the thrust of the organization was in line with that of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

The AD's policy document supports the call for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, backs the MDM's negotiation pre-conditions, and takes a strong stand in favor of a non-sexist and ecology-conscious society.

Dietrich said the AD was not fighting for Afrikaner rights. "Rather we're trying to create an organizational base for Afrikaans-speakers and to show that its not only Nats and AWB (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) people who speak Afrikaans."

The organization has not yet embarked on a membership drive but has attracted the interest of hundreds of Afrikaans-speakers from Johannesburg, Cape Town, Stellenbosch and Pretoria, according to Dietrich.

"Eventually we'd like to go national, but at the moment we're still preparing for a Johannesburg launch."

*** ANC, NAMDA Meet To Discuss Health**

34000171C Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
23 Oct 89 p 3

[Text] Harare—The National Medical and Dental Association of SA [South Africa] (Namdá) and the health department of the ANC [African National Congress] ended a three-day meeting in Harare yesterday with a call for united action against SA by health organisations and the Mass Democratic Movement.

A joint statement said the struggle for an equitable health system could not be isolated from the struggle for national liberation, the national news agency Ziana reports. "We recognise the leadership of the ANC in this struggle," it said.

It also reaffirmed "the central role of Namda in organising doctors and dentists for an equitable health system."

General political questions, including the implications of negotiations with Pretoria, were discussed.

"In this regard (negotiations) the OAU [Organization of African Unity]'s Unity's Harare declaration should be the focus of discussion," the statement said.

*** PAC President Criticizes Protest Marches**

34000171B Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English
8 Oct 89 p 14

[Interview with PAC president Zeph Mothopeng by Charles Mogale]

[Text] PAC [Pan-African Congress] president Zeph Mothopeng is unimpressed with the wave of protest marches which began after 23 people were killed in Cape Town on 6 September, election day. He spoke to Charles Mogale reports.

You have come out against recent protest marches. What is the official standpoint of the PAC on the matter?

[Mothopeng] Marches are one of the methods used by liberation movements.

They take place irrespective of whether there is permission or not in order to fulfil the requirements of the liberation tradition.

I respect the people who took part, because they did it with the understanding that they were promoting the struggle for liberation.

The question arises whether mere marching from one point to the other, with permission to do so, contributes to the achievement of liberation.

Let us look at the facts. The marches originated from the killing of 23 people in Cape Town on 6 September. As a result of this, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the mayor of Cape Town, Gordon Oliver, asked for permission to hold demonstrations.

FW De Klerk granted that march after the Cape Town mayor promised it would be peaceful. He also announced that he did so not because of Tutu, but because of the mayor.

Let us look at the reasons why FW conceded to this. After news of the massacre was published, both internal and external opinion was outraged. There was an outcry for stricter application of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. Even (British Prime Minister) Margaret Thatcher expressed misgivings over the event.

FW had to do something to counter that. By allowing the demonstrations he succeeded, because almost all successive demonstrations said nothing about the killing of our people. As a result, it was forgotten.

Therefore the marches reduced demands for further sanctions. It let FW and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok off the hook. In fact, FW is now considered a sincere and angelic reformist.

This is borne out by a statement made by U.S. president George Bush, who claims FW is a sincere and determined reformist, and further sanctions would be counter-productive.

It has given Thatcher leverage to propose a package at the coming Commonwealth summit. She will now be able to argue that the people and the country are ready to negotiate and FW is honest in his intention to bring reform.

[Mogale] Recent reports claim the PAC and ANC [African National Congress] are poles apart. Is this true?

[Mothopeng] It is a misconception that political parties can unite.

Each party has its own policy, philosophies and programmes. In most cases they are very divergent.

It is a futile exercise to plead for political parties to unite.

We of the PAC have always stood for unity in action.

I can't talk for other people because they have their own spokesmen.

We are engaged in the process of uniting all Africans under the banner of African nationalism, and all our efforts are directed to the grassroots. The people are the final arbiters.

All liberation struggles in various African states campaigned for liberation by using nationalism against imperialism and colonialism.

We know that Azania is the only country in Africa which will still be under colonial rule after the independence of Namibia in November.

The struggle for liberation has reached our borders. We can only succeed if we approach that struggle as a nation.

[Mogale] Do you foresee a day when the PAC and ANC could unite under an umbrella alliance?

[Mothopeng] History has shown that does not work.

Look at Zimbabwe. They tried a merger and it resulted in bigger confusion and rivalry. Bishop Abel Muzorewa joined (former Rhodesian Prime Minister) Ian Smith. Under Muzorewa, more guerrillas were killed than were killed under Smith himself.

It proves my contention that you can't unite political parties, but you can unite people of the country.

[Mogale] It is alleged the international community is more sympathetic towards the ANC than the PAC. Did you find this was the case on your recent trip abroad?

[Mothopeng] I found that people were sympathetic to the cause of the PAC and were keen to learn about its objectives.

When I addressed meetings at the United Nations in New York on 16 June, my speeches were welcomed.

African ambassadors gave me their assurance that they will support our efforts in our liberation struggle in Azania.

I also addressed very enthusiastic meetings in England and got overwhelming support.

There is no substance to claims that international communities are less favourable towards us.

[Mogale] Detractors of the PAC have accused it of being racist because it excludes whites. What is your comment?

[Mothopeng] I am glad you asked that. The PAC is the first organisation which came up with the word non-racialism in the early 1950s. It is in our manifesto.

At that time everybody spoke of multi-racialism, which means racism multiplied. We say we believe in one race, the human race.

There is no plural for that word. It is so strict among our followers that tribal and clan names are regarded with disfavour.

A true member of the PAC will say "I am an African." We mean that people are divided between the oppressor and oppressed—imperialist and colonialists on one side and the dispossessed on the other.

Today we maintain that in Azania there are only two groups of people—Africans and colonialists.

Africans embrace the Khoi-Khoi and the San and their descendants. There are also people of Asian origin who came here not as oppressors, and are interested in the genuine liberation of the people.

Colonialists are those who have enjoyed privileges and rights since the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. It goes back to the arrival of Jan van Riebeck in 1652.

These people include the English and the Boers. Throughout history, not a single African tribe was conquered by the Boers. It was the English who did it all the time.

* ANC Faces Challenges at Next Year's Election

34000197B Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 27 Oct-2 Nov 89 p 13

[Article by Mark Phillips]

[Text] The government's proposal to hold elections for "non-homeland" Africans next year may confront the African National Congress [ANC] with one of the greatest strategic challenges of its history.

The options facing the ANC are to call for a boycott, or to attempt to shift the parameters of the election in order to consider participation. Either way, the poll holds both potential dangers and opportunities for extra-parliamentary forces.

At National Party congresses in the Transvaal and the Free State in the last week, constitutional development minister Gerrit Viljoen and justice minister Kobie Coetsee proposed a "special election" as a means for Africans to "appoint" their representatives to the negotiating table.

In the 1970s and 1980s the boycott tactic was used with devastating effect to render illegitimate both the homeland system and each successive reform of the local authority system. Could next year's election be different?

The De Klerk government's conciliatory and reformist rhetoric has already raised local and overseas expectations enormously. Together with the release of Walter Sisulu and his comrades it has given the de Klerk government a breathing space—"quite an achievement in terms of fine footwork," said Coetsee on Tuesday.

The proposed black election will undoubtedly meet with much interest in foreign capitals. As one senior UDF [United Democratic Front] official noted this week, "international opinion is notoriously fickle." The election, he suggested, "required more than a simple 'No' from the MDM [Mass Democratic Movement]."

But much will depend on the nature of the election proposed. So far, the government is sending out confusing signals.

Coetsee said in Bloemfontein that "more than 60 percent of blacks are already involved in a form of government in which they have exercised their choice."

The assumption, then, is that those Africans living in the homelands have already elected their negotiation representatives, as have coloureds and Indians.

Add a set of relatively pliant non-homeland leaders, throw in a couple of black mayors and councillors, and the government may hope it has all the ingredients it needs for an internal settlement which gives the white minority veto power over all future change.

According to Viljoen, "radicals exclude themselves if they have secret agendas in the back of their minds." But, he went on to say: "Through negotiations beforehand, the nature and details of such an election must be found to be generally acceptable."

Here lies the rub. The ANC's options are wider than simply "boycott" or "participate." It may well have the power to turn the election into something quite different from what the Nats are intending.

International opinion and the ANC's organised strength on the ground prevent the government from unilaterally excluding the ANC. De Klerk hopes the ANC will "marginalise itself" through a straightforward boycott.

But if the ANC expresses its willingness to negotiate the terms of the election, De Klerk's bluff will be called. How far could the government's proposal be shifted?

At present the government rejects the idea of voting on a common voters role out of hand. Says Coetsee: "We reject surrender as a model. It is not even an option."

What could the liberation movement gain through attempting to negotiate at least a fully fledged black election? Its willingness to consider the concept of an election at this stage, even if it rejects its proposed parameters, would win it widespread respect.

The ANC could demand—entirely reasonably—that coloureds and Indians be included in the poll, as well as all homeland residents.

Apart from the government and the Conservative Party no one in the world would oppose this demand. The homelands are recognised by nobody. Low election polls have put paid to claims by Indian and coloured parliamentarians to represent more than 20 to 30 percent of their communities.

The right to organise freely in all parts of the country would have to be guaranteed. So would equal access to the media, including TV and radio. Under such conditions, few would doubt the capacity of the ANC to win a huge majority of the votes cast. And the organisational gains would be enormous.

Government rejection of these demands would expose the hollowness of its rhetorical commitment to negotiating a united South Africa. It would also then provoke a boycott, which would easily achieve 75 percent success. De Klerk would be shifted right back into the Botha cul-de-sac.

But this strategy could also carry heavy costs for the ANC. Its commitment to non-racialism is not mere idle principle. Negotiations should not be between black and

white, it believes. They should be between democrats and those who still cling to race-based thinking.

And in terms of the OAU [Organization of African Unity] guidelines, the objective of negotiations and the elections which ensue should be the creation of "a united, democratic and non-racial state." Yet Kobie Coetsee was still talking this week of "marketing the concept of own affairs more effectively."

The Pan Africanist Congress and Black consciousness Movement would almost certainly boycott almost any kind of election other than a non-racial one. In the unlikely event that a full black election were to be held, even a 70 percent poll would allow these small groups, whose organisational presence is in a state of steady decline, to claim 30 percent support for their strategies.

Sunday's mass rally to welcome home the released ANC leaders will give some key pointers to the future. We remain in the initial phase of "talks about talks." But there can be no doubt that the future electoral fortunes of the country are already firmly on the agenda.

* Pan-Africanist Students Organization Launched

34000197A Johannesburg SOWETAN in English
26 Oct 89 p 7

[Article by Themba Molefe]

[Text] A newly formed students movement under the Africanist banner, the Pan Africanist Students Organisation of Azania, has pledged to strive for an educational system that aims to liberate the mind.

This was one of the resolutions adopted by Paso at its launch congress held at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre in Roodepoort and attended by more than 600 delegates from all over the country, including Transkei, Venda and Ciskei.

The congress, it was said, noted that students received "colonial education geared at inculcating bourgeois tendencies to the service of capitalism and alienate us from our concrete conditions to make us appendages of capitalism and imperialism."

Paso also rejected negotiations with the Government saying this could only be done once the transfer of the land to its "rightful owners" had been addressed.

It maintained that there were irrevocable contradictions between the working class and capitalists and called for unity of the workers on the basis of one federation in one country.

Paso resolved to help promote sports but discourage participation in activities organised by the Department of Education and Training.

The organisation called on the Namibian liberation movement, Swapo, to be vigilant and make certain that the initiatives in Namibia should be of its own people and not outsiders.

Lungelo Mbandayazo of the Eastern Cape was elected president, Lawrence Ngandela of Soweto, general secretary, and Charge-In Mabaso of Transkei, national organiser.

* Armscor Announces Cutbacks in Subsidiary

34000884A Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English
28 Oct 89 p 5

[Text] Pretoria. —Armscor (Armaments Corporation of SA) has announced that, due to a substantial decline in the South African Defence Force's demand for quick-fire and small-arms ammunition, the activities of its company PMP (Pty) Ltd are to be rationalised, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported yesterday.

A statement by Armscor said the rationalisation entailed the closing of PMP's plant in Pretoria West, with the exception of a few special activities.

Tasks performed there would be transferred in rationalised form to PMP's plant in Church Street West.

Armscor has not yet established how many people will be affected by the rationalisation of the activities of PMP, the company's personnel director, Mr Peet van den Heever, said yesterday.

He said the number affected would, however, be "substantial" and the final numbers would be available next month.

According to the statement, employees at all levels and of all population groups are involved.

Among the redundant staff were a number of people between the ages of 55 and 60.

"For these employees additional service years will be bought, which will effectively bring them to a pensionable age of 60.

"Employees who are older than 60 will retire with normal pension," the statement said.

Armscor said PMP's staff were fully informed yesterday about the background to the rationalisation and the effect it would have on them, and all efforts were being made to accommodate as many of the staff as possible elsewhere in the group.

The company added that employees who could not be assisted in this way would receive generous parting benefits in accordance with Armscor's conditions of service.

Arrangements were also being made with personnel placement agencies to help employees find alternative employment.

Armscor said the rationalisation of PMP followed the already completed rationalisation of Naschem, its heavy-calibre ammunition company.

Naschem's plant at Lenz, near Johannesburg, was closed and its activities concentrated at its Boskop plant near Potchefstroom.

The statement said the rationalisation of the two Armscor companies meant production levels had been brought in line with the SADF's stock levels of and requirements for, basic ammunition types.

It added that care had been taken to retain sufficient expertise and production capacity to provide for a possible increase in demand.

* Correspondent Argues in Favor of Defense Cuts

34000884B Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English
26 Oct 89 p 8

[Text] During the recent election campaign there was a great deal of talk about reducing defence expenditure in the post-P.W. Botha and post-Namibia (perhaps) era, but not many specifics were given.

Election promises and speculation apart, however, can defence expenditure be cut?

The answer is "yes," but it would not be as easy as it might seem.

Defence spending in the current budget runs at under 5 percent of the Gross Domestic Product—well within the acceptable limits of a country at South Africa's stage of development, and in fact somewhat low for comfort, according to various expert observers.

Other Cuts

A few hundred million of the defence budget might be saved as a result of the wind-down north of the Orange River, but this is only a small bite of the pie.

Any other cuts would have to come about by shaving away at various aspects of the normal military structure, and it is important that the pruning takes place in the right areas, or the SADF's deterrent value—and its prospects of maintaining that deterrent value—will diminish to a dangerous degree.

Basically the budget-cutter can examine three areas: equipment/weaponry procurement, personnel, and administration, fixed assets and maintenance.

Weak Rand

- **Procurement.** It would be very unwise to prune procurement at this stage. Various long-term projects are coming to a head and cancellation would represent massive losses.

The acquisition of foreign-origin weaponry if the arms boycott slackens would not necessarily represent that much of a saving, thanks to the weak rand and the fact that overseas weaponry is not only very expensive but often requires adaptation to local conditions.

The emphasis on cutting, therefore, would have to fall on the other two sectors, but here, too, it must be judicious in the extreme.

Administration and maintenance. No doubt much could be done to streamline and decentralize archaic and cumbersome administrative procedures, which would not only save on personnel but probably also promote efficiency.

Much Scope

A sharp eye could be cast at rationalization and consolidation of facilities, although non-financial factors have to be considered, such as the need for border bases (as at Upington) and community-upliftment factors (such as resulted in the founding of a new Cape Corps battalion at Kimberley).

However, that still leaves much scope.

For example, does the South African Women's Army College at Knysna really serve any purpose except as a racially exclusive military finishing school for young women?

Strictly a 1960s concept, it does not serve a purpose in its present form and should be adapted or abolished.

The time has come, too, to re-examine the future location of the South African Military Academy, established at Saldanha Bay because this happened to be in the constituency of the then Minister of Defence, Mr Frans Erasmus.

Old College

Financially it is said to be a white elephant, and for years there has been talk of moving it to the Boland.

The old teachers' training college at Paarl represents a golden opportunity which was not taken up.

The wisdom of having a centralized mobilization centre at Bloemfontein might also be re-appraised.

- **Personnel.** SADF [South Africa Defense Forces] personnel policy should be based on the simple premise that a serviceman or woman is not cheap labour but an expensive item in terms of uniform, equipment and training.

So it is logical to deduce that such a person must not be used for any task not requiring him/her.

Deadwood

It follows, then, that all Permanent Force [PF] posts should be evaluated to see whether they could not be filled just as well, or better, by civilians; probably this would prove to be so in at least a third of all cases.

A system of 1-year enlistments could be introduced, in order eliminate deadwood in the PF.

A vast saving could be effected in the national service and part-time forces, which make up about 97 percent of the SADF.

Decentralised induction could save great sums.

National service could be cut to a year in most cases, although money would be needed to encourage selected men to extend their service, since it is impossible to train a soldier on certain weapon systems in under two years and a credible full-time force cannot be built on one-year men.

Volunteer

Then again, it makes little sense to call up men of the G-4 medical category, who suffer from grave disabilities.

G-4s could be given some basic training and then deployed as civilians in clerical and other capacities—but with the right to volunteer to serve in uniform if they wished.

One might ask whether the time has not come to combine the Citizen Force and Commando Forces, which receive basically the same training.

One thing that should not be done is to neglect PF pay. The PF should not be on Commission for Administration scales, because service-people are not normal civil servants: they are subjected to much greater constraints and have to endure, or stand ready to endure, hardship and physical danger.

The ideal should be a smaller, leaner, more efficient and better-paid PF which would be able to recruit the best possible people—and retain them.

Sports Afternoon

Removing the SADF from the grasp of the Commission for Administration might be painful in some ways.

For example, it might mean that the SADF would have to part with a cherished institution, the Wednesday sports afternoon, which cannot be justified.

It costs literally hundreds of thousands of man-days a year and is of doubtful benefit in promoting mass fitness. In addition one cannot expect to work 4-1/2 days a week and at the same time ask for better pay than civilian civil servants who work five days.

None of these are radical ideas; most have been kicking around for years, and for the *practical* reformer they supply a soundly based blueprint.

*** Government Said To Drop Armed Struggle Demand**

34000174A Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English
22 Oct 89 p 1

[Article by Lester Venter]

[Text] The Government is to drop its demand that the African National Congress [ANC] abandons the armed struggle before it joins the negotiating table.

This dramatic change of approach will remove the main stumbling block in the way of a face-to-face meeting between the Government and the most important black liberation movement.

Senior Government sources said it would hold the ANC only to a commitment to a peaceful solution as a precursor to talks—dropping its previous insistence on a public renunciation of the armed struggle.

It would expect the ANC to give "some sort of sign" that it is prepared to become involved in the negotiating process.

Spokesmen pointed to the fact that the formerly rigid government demand for the abandonment of violence was conspicuously absent from President F.W. De Klerk's opening address at the National Party's Transvaal congress in Pretoria yesterday.

A top source disclosed in Pretoria yesterday that the Government accepted the ANC—"for historical and other reasons"—could not publicly move away from the armed struggle that had been central to its 29 years of exile.

Beacon

The Government, on the other hand, could not drop its commitment not to meet any group still engaged in violence—or holding out the option of returning to violence.

This impasse, it was hoped, could be solved by setting a new, mutually acceptable departure point—the commitment to a peaceful solution.

It came to the same thing—a cessation of violence by both parties—but made the start of negotiations more likely, with a new beacon for all parties to rally round.

The "commitment to a peaceful solution" requirement has been part of President De Klerk's political vocabulary for some months, but this is the first time a senior government negotiator has spelt out the quiet banishment of the "abandon violence" condition.

At the congress:

- Mr De Klerk called for "a sign of peace" from radical groups so the Government could begin lifting the state of emergency;
- Delegates made it clear they were ready to consider unbanning the ANC;
- Plans were spelt out to end racial discrimination so that the group concept could be presented as part of the Government's negotiation package.

Mr De Klerk said: "If those organisations who practise a policy of political violence and acts of terror were to give an indication, by word and deed, that those events will not recur, it would add greatly to a more relaxed atmosphere in which the state of emergency could be lifted."

Key

On negotiations, Mr De Klerk said: "We would like the participation of all relevant groups—including those who, in the course of history and the paths on which they and their leaders have found themselves, have in one way or another been excluded from the peaceful process."

"They hold the key to participation in their own hands." Mr De Klerk also made it clear the abandonment of violence—which he described as an "oversimplification"—would not be the final determinant in future releases of political prisoners, such as Mr Nelson Mandela.

Stages

He said the conditions had been broadened and refined to an objective test and evaluation of the possible consequences of prisoner releases.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen who, as Minister of Constitutional Development is Mr De Klerk's chief negotiator, said the Government's view was that the result of negotiations would be that the country would move into an "evolutionary process of incremental reform" rather than a "peaceful revolution."

He said co-operation from radical groups would make it possible for the Government to lift the state of emergency in stages.

* Expert Sees Decline in Military Threat

34000176B Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English
19 Oct 89 p 12

[Article by Tony Stirling]

[Text] Military pressure against South Africa is expected to decline over the next decade, according to an article in *Salvo*, mouthpiece of Armscor.

The article, by the well-known political analyst and consultant, Dr Jan du Plessis, said an analysis of general trends in Southern African societies from 1974 to 1989 indicated "an unmistakable decline on all levels." This included economic performance, agricultural output, infrastructure, manpower and others.

"This has led to a situation where society's capability is not in a position to exploit the physical capabilities positively—a precondition for any effective military capability," said Dr Du Plessis.

The situation had been aggravated by the fact that despite current active involvement by the West in mineral exploitation in the region, demand had declined, while civil wars, such as that being fought in Angola, had caused the country to lose valuable commodity markets, such as coffee, which would be difficult to recapture.

"This leads one to the conclusion that, regardless of the existing fighting forces in Sub-Saharan Africa, capabilities of the societies to support their military capabilities will make war too expensive for the region."

An additional factor had been the drop in real aid levels to Sub-Saharan Africa from the mid-1980s, with a region becoming a high-risk area in banking circles because of inadequate controls, widespread corruption and a dramatic decline in currency values and worsening economic prospects.

This had provided an incentive to withdraw money from African states and the economic situation in the region was generally expected to worsen in the coming decade. While over the past 15 years there had always been powers willing to invest in the subcontinent for political and ideological reasons, as evidence by aid from Russia and Cuba among others, the signals from these quarters were very clear.

"Moscow not only questions its own military adventures in Africa, but also its ideological expansionism," he said. The current initiatives of the Soviet President, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev is breaking down East-West antagonism and leaves no room for military adventures in Southern Africa over the next decade.

This did not imply that the region would be without conflicts. On the contrary, low level conflicts between governments and resistance movements could be expected to proliferate because of conditions in the region.

"That will demand from South Africa a capability to protect its own borders from the effects of internal conflict in neighboring states," he said.

In addition, South Africa would have to keep an eye on broader developments, such as an effective disarmament agreement in Europe.

In such an event, some of the large volumes of military equipment withdrawn from service in Europe could find their way into the hand of a dictator in Southern Africa. South Africa had built up a military capability backed by a capability of its society that could not be matched in the region in decades to come.

*** Conscription 'Key Reason for Brain Drain'**

*34000885B Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
1 Nov 89 p 4*

[Text] Cape-Town—Compulsory national service was one of the main reasons why 4,500 university graduates—a quarter of the total number of graduates—left SA [South Africa] each year.

This was the finding of Wits University "brain drain" researcher David Shandler. Speaking yesterday at a two-day workshop on alternative service here organised by UCT [University of Cape Town]'s Centre for Inter-Group Studies, he said that the emigration of graduates

and students cost the country in terms of lost taxes and productivity and a shortage of managers.

Service evasion—accomplished by students obtaining "continual" study deferments—also encouraged a skills shortage and gave rise to an influx of over-qualified men on the job market.

He suggested the "brain drain" problem could be partly solved by a new approach which combined an "extension of national service to include the civilian component."

The workshop covered foreign conscription systems as well as the SA one and provisions for alternative service.

*** Conscientious Objectors Sign National Register**

*3401061D Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans
22 Sep 89 p 4*

[Text] Conscientious objectors to military service gathered in seven locations in the country yesterday to start a national registry of names and to protest compulsory military service. Mr Chris de Villiers, the convener of the meetings, told the South African Press Association that altogether 780 people in Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Grahamstown, Durban, and Bloemfontein had added their names to the register at news conferences. The register will be submitted next week to Gen Magnus Malan, minister of defense. In Cape Town alone 241 men joined the group at a dinner meeting, while 75 conscientious objectors attended the conference in Johannesburg. Patrons of the register are, among others, Bishop Reg Orsmond of the Roman Catholic Church, Bishop Peter Storey of the Methodist Church, Dr Franz Auerbach of Jews for Social Justice, Prof Lourens du Plessis of the law faculty of the University of Stellenbosch, and the Reverend Denis Hurley, Roman Catholic archbishop of Durban.

Yesterday at noon the South African Defense Force (SADF) said in a statement that "the intention of violating a law in the future is not necessarily an offense. As in the past, legal measures will be taken as soon as the men do not register for military service." Altogether 142 men had also declared earlier in the year that they were not going to register for military service. It has come to light since then that few of them kept their word. "The number of men who sign a declaration is not a true reflection of the percentage of those men who are subject to compulsory service and who actually refuse to serve or who do not register for service," according to the SADF statement.

Our office in Stellenbosch reports that 30 conscientious objectors, 22 of whom are University of Stellenbosch students, added their names to the register yesterday. One of them, Mr Victor Honey, is a teacher in the Department of Visual Arts—and his two sons Tim and Nathan. Reverend Luke Stubbs and the writer Charl

Naude are also included in the group. Among the students were Messrs Daniel Malan, member of the governing board of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and chairman of the Stellenbosch Current Events Circle, Christoff Oosthuizen, editor of the CAMPUS CROSS, and Wayne Mudge, chairman of the Anglican Union. The University of Stellenbosch was denounced in a statement for the support which it gives in many respects to the SADF.

* SADF Reacts to Botswana Overflight Charges

34000171A Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN* in English
21 Oct 89 p 13

[Text] Negotiations are underway between South Africa and Botswana over overflight rights, a Defence Force spokesman said yesterday.

He was reacting to a report on Botswana's problem in monitoring alleged air space violations by South Africa.

The report, compiled by David Martin and P. Johnson, directors of the Southern African Research and Documentation Center, is an extract from the book "Apartheid Terrorism".

Among others, the report alleges that, instead of flying over Namibia to supply UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] in southern Angola, South African planes take a direct route across Botswana.

According to the report, much of South Africa's alleged violation of Botswana's air space had gone undetected.

Botswana Defence Force statistics showed that between February 1985 and August 1988, there had been 23 such alleged violations.

The report said a number of journalists who visited UNITA's main base at Jamba in southern Angola last February were flown across Botswana by South Africa.

The journalists were able to identify their flight path clearly by distinctive landmarks such as the Okavango Swamps, according to the report.

It also revealed that a few days after the journalists' visit, a party of Republican members of the US Congress were flown to Angola over the same route.

According to the report, neither of those air space violations were recorded in Botswana's statistics.

Other air space violations include alleged intimidating low level flight over villages by South African Impala jet fighters to SADF [South African Defense Forces] troops landed by helicopters in tourist areas.

An analysis of "direct attacks" and other alleged incidents involving SADF and alleged "known" air space violations provided an overview as to the necessity of expanding the Botswana Defence Force [BDF], said the report.

From 1980 to 1989 defence expenditure rose by over 600 percent. Both BDF and police records showed that from February 13, 1985 to February 13, 1989, there were 20 "direct" SADF attacks or sabotages, 37 lesser incidents involving incursions or crossborder shootings, and 23 known air space violations, the largest number of recorded incidents involving South African troops against any Frontline state in the period, except Angola.

The Defence spokesman said:

"South Africa has never committed sabotage in Botswana. South Africa, however, reserves the right to act against terrorists who kill and maim innocent South Africans.

"Furthermore, channels exist between the governments of South Africa and Botswana through which matters of this nature can be raised."

* Police Plan To Double Force in 10 Years

34000176C Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English
19 Oct 89 p 2

[Article by Edyth Bulbring]

[Text] A major restructuring of the SA [South Africa] Police is planned which could see police numbers double in the next 10 years to about 110,000.

The programme is to get underway following a two-day conference between SAP [South African Police] generals and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

The closed-doors conference at Nylstroom decided on a 10-year plan which will see a huge expansion of police numbers, and the decentralization of the SAP.

The plan envisages increasing the number of SAP officers and from January 1, there will be upwards of 38 generals instead of the present 29.

Police ranks could double to about 110,000 depending on funds and availability of manpower.

It is estimated that over 1,800 SAP members have resigned from the force since January this year because of low pay.

A first ever police academy for advanced training will be established in Paarl next year with an emphasis on specialized training.

As from January 1 next year, the SAP will decentralize into eleven regions each under the command of a regional commissioner with the rank of major-general. The police force is at present divided into 19 divisions.

This move would give the regions more autonomy and allow for the development of a regional policy catering for the specific requirements of the region while still being accountable to Head Office.

In a statement released by the Ministry of Law and Order said the conference aimed at discussing a vision for the future in the light of the challenges of the next decade.

Goals discussed were the provision of a more effective police force which would ensure, among other things, that assaults on the security and sovereignty of the country were curbed.

Another goal was to improve the image of the SAP while at the same time addressing any shortcomings that may come to light and to secure the freedom and future of SA.

Other goals for the future under discussion were the fostering of good relations between the police and the public and more cost effective policing. The conference also addressed the present and expected security situation.

The changes set out in President F.W. de Klerk's five year plan were considered in deciding policy. An emphasis on eradicating any divisions that existed in the police force were also given due consideration.

* Investigation Into Police Corruption Called

34000197C Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 27 Oct-2 Nov 89 p 11

[Article by Mzimkulu Malunga]

[Text] Twenty Lekoa municipal policemen are calling for an independent commission of inquiry into allegations of corruption by white municipal policemen, who are allegedly former members of the South African Police.

"We don't want a police commission of inquiry, we want an independent one. We know the police will obviously protect their white members," said a representative for the 20.

"If the commission of inquiry is not conducted, then we will involve churchmen and concerned residents because we know that what we are saying is true and we can prove it," he said.

Their allegations include:

- Sexual harassment of municipal policewomen by white municipal policemen.
- The insistence by whites to be called *baas* or *Marena* (chiefs) by the black policemen.
- Instructing municipal policemen to work in their gardens or buy them food as a form of disciplinary action if a *kitskonstabel* (municipal policeman) committed an offence.
- The fact that some *kitskonstabels* who are barely literate have matric certificates because they are on good terms with white officials. The policemen are paid according to their standard of education.
- Names of people who were dismissed still appear on the payroll and the 20 want to know who is getting the money.

Their anger was also fuelled by the recent incorporation of the municipal police unit into the South African Police [SAP] force.

"We are worried that almost all white officials who are ill-treating black municipal police are ex-SAP members," said one *kitskonstabel*. "It gives us an impression that that is how black policemen will be treated within the SAP."

Another matter which angered the 20 was the return to council by the former mayor, Esau Mahlatsi. He was appointed to the management committee last month.

Mahlatsi is accused by the 20 of having ignored their complaints during his term as mayor.

According to the 20 all but one white municipal policeman resigned when the unit was shifted into the SAP on 1 October.

They claim the reason Warrent Officer Van der Lith remained was he had been promised a senior position.

The 20 claim the white policemen had instructed two black policemen, sergeants Michael Kolokoto and Z Motshweneng, to spy on them.

This week the 20 were allegedly raided twice in four days by Van der Lith.

The home of Lekoa councillor and member of the Sofasonke Party, Andrew Kgarudi, was also raided.

He also apparently demanded that the municipal policemen sign resignation forms, but they all refused.

Among the 20 are some who were involved in a shootout with the SAP riot squad in the Vaal in 1987. Captain Timmothy Radebe was host in the head during the clash.

- The SAP public relations directorate said they were aware of the dispute at Lekoa and that it was being investigated. However, "we can't comment any further at this moment," the representative said.

* Retirements Trigger SADF Promotions

34000193A Johannesburg THE STAR in English
26 Oct 89 p 17

[Text] The retirement of two of the South African Defence Force [SADF]'s most senior members has brought about chain-reaction promotions for eight other long-serving officers.

SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys yesterday announced the promotions of five senior officers.

The promotions will take effect from 1 March 1990 to fill spaces created by the retirement of Lt-Gen I.R. Gleeson, Chief of Defence Force Staff.

- Lt-Gen Kat Liebenberg, present Chief of the Army, is to fill Lt-Gen Gleeson's post.

- Maj-Gen George Meiring, present Deputy Chief of the Army, is promoted to lieutenant-general and appointed Chief of the Army in the place of Lt-Gen Liebenberg.
- Maj-Gen C.P. van der Westhuizen, present General Officer Commanding Witwatersrand Command, becomes Deputy Chief of the Army in place of Maj-Gen Meiring.
- Brig W.G. Kritzing, present Officer Commanding Eastern Province Command, is promoted to the rank of major-general and appointed General Officer Commanding Witwatersrand Command in the place of Maj-Gen van der Westhuizen and
- Brig F.A. Botha, present Chief of Staff at Far Northern Command, is appointed Officer Commanding Eastern Province Command in the place of Brig Kritzing.

Gen Geldenhuys also announced the promotion of three officers with effect from 1 April next year to fill the gap created by the retirement of Chief of Staff Planning, Lt-Gen F. van der Berg.

Air Force Staff

- Maj-Gen A.J.S. van der Lith, present Chief of Air Force Staff, is promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general and will fill the post vacated by Lt-Gen van den Berg.
- Maj-Gen J. Kriel, Chief of Air Staff Operations Designate, is appointed Chief of Air Force Staff in the place of Maj-Gen van der Lith and
- Brig A.H. Repsold is promoted to the rank of major-general and appointed Chief of Air Staff Operations in the place of Maj-Gen Kriel.

* Nonracial Security Forces Group Formed

34000172A Johannesburg THE STAR in English
19 Oct 89 p 9

[Article by Craig Kotze]

[Text] A national nonracial organization representing all members of the security forces was launched last night in Johannesburg.

Called the Association of Officers of the Republic of South Africa, it has a potential membership of up to 80,000 members.

The organization's aim is to support and promote South Africa's national security at all times and to establish improve, support, maintain and promote the rights and benefits of all those contributing to national security.

The organization is based on the concepts of overseas reserve officers organizations in countries such as the United States, France and other Nato countries.

All members of the security forces who hold officer or warrant officer rank will be allowed to join.

The objectives include establishing links with organizations with similar aims outside South Africa and to cooperate with other service organizations.

* Weapons Arsenal Revealed at Terrorism Trial

34000880B Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English
28 Oct 89 pp 1, 2

[Article by Stephane Bothma]

[Text] The weaponry and explosives found in the possession of the "Broederstroom Three" ANC [African National Congress] terrorists could have caused massive death and destruction if the trio had used them correctly, the Pretoria Regional Court heard yesterday.

Testifying in the trial of self-confessed ANC terrorist Damien de Lange (30), Ian Hugh Robertson (36) and Susan Catherine Donnelly (24), an explosives and weapons expert of the South African Security Police, Captain Hendrik van Niekerk Kotze, held up a Russian-made Sam-7 surface to air missile as an exhibit, said it was the first time police had impounded such a missile in South Africa.

State prosecutor Mr Frans Roets also showed a video in court yesterday depicting the explosive effects of the weaponry.

De Lange, political commissar Ian Robertson and communications officer Susan Donnelly (nee Wescott) were convicted in the trial on multiple charges of terrorism.

Capt Van Niekerk Kotze said the arsenal could have killed people and caused serious damage, and had been a big threat to the community.

He concurred with Mr Roets that 60 mm North Korean-made mortar bombs that had been impounded would, because of their trajectory, have been ideal to fire into a rugby stadium at a Northerns game.

Defence Counsel Mr David Soggott objected, saying it might as well be said that they could have been fired at a home for cripples.

Among other impounded weaponry exhibited and discussed by Capt Van Niekerk Kotze were handgrenades, an AK47 assault rifle, a home-made bomb, a Russian PKM company belt-fed machinegun, pistols and a silencer, various demolition charges and an SPM limpet mine.

Holding up the long, sleek Sam-7 missile, Capt Van Niekerk Kotze explained its infra-red technology and the mechanics of its guiding fins.

He said it tracked aircraft at 2,000 km/h, had a range of 5,4 km and could fly for up to 15 seconds.

The missile had been in working order when found, he said.

In the video showed, Capt Kotze showed the destructive powers of a Russian-made KZ7 shaped demolition charge which penetrated seven thick steel plates when fired. Two of these KZ7s were found on the farm in Broederstroom. It was also the first time that this type of explosive device had been found in South Africa.

The destructive power of a home-made explosive, consisting of ammonia nitride extracted from fertiliser, which was found on the Broederstroom farm, was shown by detonating it in the boot of a vehicle. The boot was totally destroyed in the blast. Only 17 kg of this home-made explosive was used to destroy the vehicle, Capt Kotze said.

In cross-examination Captain Kotze refused to publicly disclose the substances used to manufacture the explosive, but wrote the formula on a piece of paper which was handed to Mr Soggott.

The court heard that 40 kg of the home-made explosive and two SPM limpet mines were used by De Lange and Robertson when they unsuccessfully attempted to bomb a South African Defence Force bus in Benoni in February last year. The explosives were detonated in front of the bus. No-one was injured in the explosion.

The court also heard that three Makarov pistols—usually carried by the commander of an ANC cell—were found at Broederstroom. There were also two Colt pistols which were stamped "Property of the United States of America." Capt Kotze said they were issued to the United States Army.

Captain Kotze, who has 11 years experience as an explosives and weapons expert, told the court all the arms and ammunition found were in perfect working order.

The caches were pointed out by De Lange at the Buffelspoort Dam near Rustenburg and at a T-junction on the Asvat-Van Zylsrust road on the day of their arrest last year.

Defence witness Bishop Manas Buthelezi, of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, president of the South African Council of Churches, and a cousin of KwaZulu Chief Minister chief Mangosothu Buthelezi, confirmed under cross-examination by the state that he was a member of the World Council of Churches' committee of faith and order.

He confirmed to Mr J Pretorius, for the state, that he was aware that the WCC funded the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

The function of the church was to serve everybody, and there were no outlaws in the view of the church, Bishop Buthelezi said.

Asked by the magistrate, Mr Van den Bergh, how many Blacks supported Umkhonto we Sizwe, Bishop Buthelezi

said he had been frightened to discover how many young Blacks were "bent towards violence," and was doing his best to dissuade them.

*** SADF's Technical College, Wingfield, Described**
34000179C Pretoria PARATUS in English
1 Sep 89 pp 36-37

[Text] The Cape Technikon, (formerly the Cape College for Advanced Technical Education, formerly the Cape Technical College), has had an education and training association with the SA [South African] Navy, and its predecessors, dating back to 1927. Although this training has been traditionally technical in nature, there have been occasional departures from this norm, such as the training of chefs.

In more recent times the training of apprentices in basic practical skills began at the Technikon in 1954. Apprentices attended theory classes as well. By 1967 the problems associated with sending a large number of apprentices into Cape Town had become considerable. In order to surmount these problems, an agreement was entered into between the Technikon and the SA Defence Force [SADF], whereby the Technikon was to be responsible for providing the teaching personnel at the naval base at Wingfield, and the SA Navy was to provide the teaching venues, equipment, training materials, and furniture. Classes commenced, in terms of this agreement, in January 1968. Six teaching personnel offered technical theory courses during the first year of operation of this agreement. In January 1969 the practical courses were also transferred to Wingfield to what had become known as the "Wingfield Training Centre." This designation was later changed to the "Department of Naval Training," and in the decade of its existence grew to be the second largest department (now called school) of the Cape Technikon. This growth being attributable to the increasing demands of the SA Navy for technical education and training in order that it keep abreast with its own expansion and technological development.

In 1978 the Department of Naval Training was offering theory courses ranging from National Technical Certificate Part I to the fourth year post standard ten level for technicians, and training technical personnel ranging from apprentices to technical officers. With the change in status from a Department of the Cape Technikon to an independent Technical Institute imminent, the management of the Cape Technikon transferred all the lecturing staff offering the technician T1 to T4 courses to other engineering departments of the technikon at the end of 1978. These 'T' courses would in future only be offered by technikons.

On 1 May 1978, the Department of Naval Training became the SADF Technical Institute, Wingfield, on the same day that its sister Institute, the SADF Technical Institute, Verwoerdburg, (which had been until that date a Department of the Technikon Pretoria) was created.

These two institutes were later declared technical colleges in terms of the provisions of the Technical Colleges Act (Act 104 of 1981).

The buildings of the College, rented from the Department of Public Works and Land Affairs, are located within the naval base at Wingfield which now forms part of Naval Base Cape Town. The buildings occupied by the College, some forty-two in number, were built circa 1941 and, with the exception of one building, which was the aerodrome operational HQ, and some prefab buildings, served as single quarters for the men of the Royal Navy Fleet Air Arm who were stationed and operated the aerodrome at Wingfield during the 1939-45 World War. Wingfield was in fact opened as the civil airport for Cape Town in 1935, with flights to Port Elizabeth, Durban and Johannesburg, carrying mail and a few passengers.

Shortly after the outbreak of World War II, the airport was taken over by the Fleet Air Arm. It served as a base for aircraft patrolling the southern coasts, provided repair shops for servicing carrier-borne aircraft using the Cape route, and assembled new aircraft for coastal reconnaissance and replacement of lost carrier aircraft. After the war Wingfield reverted to its former role as Cape Town's civil airport until the D.F. Malan airport was opened in 1955. Wingfield currently serves as a home for the Headquarters of Naval Base Cape Town, Naval Store Depot, General Naval Workshops, Group 40, SAS Wingfield, 14 Medical Sub Depot, and an admixture of other Army units including Citizen Force Units, a mobilization area, and the SADF Technical College.

In concluding this historical review, it is interesting to note that the College has recently had two rather important birthdays, its twenty first as an educational and training facility at Wingfield in January and its tenth anniversary as an independent College in May 1989.

Current Activities

One can derive from the above description of the buildings at the College's disposal that they are totally unsuited to the purpose to which they have been put for over twenty-one years. Very limited funds have, however, become available for building and the College will make a very modest start on its new campus this year. On the assumption that all training venues could be optimally utilised the College can provide for a daily intake of some 730 students. For organisational purposes the College is divided into two wings—those of Formal Education which is responsible for the provision of primarily theoretical education leading to the award of National Certificates and Diplomas ranging in level from N1 to N6; and Non-formal Education which provides training in applied theory, computer services, fluid power, and workshops. Each of these wings is under the control of a deputy principal.

The applied theory courses are offered in electrotechnology, electronics, radio, integrated circuits, and microprocessors. Some of these courses are very advanced and the equipment used is the most modern available and is thus expensive and sophisticated. These aspects are not dictated by extravagance but by the absolute need to ensure that the men and women trained to operate and maintain the complex equipment of a modern and dynamic Defence Force, receive the best and most effective training possible in order to fulfill their function of protecting our Country and its peoples.

The College Computer Training Unit is currently functioning at virtually full capacity, in contrast with reducing student numbers in other departments, and also has the most modern PC computers and peripheral equipment to fulfil its function.

The Department of Fluid Power is equipped with both pneumatic trainers as well as hydraulic and electrohydraulic training units, the latter probably being the most sophisticated and versatile in Southern Africa.

The Workshops Department of the College conducts a wide range of practical courses and has facilities for light and heavy current electrical work, diesel, fitting, machining, refrigeration, sheetmetalworking, and welding.

The College is unique in that it caters exclusively for members of the SA Defence Force "family," comprising the Army, Air force, Medical Service Navy, Armscor, and the SA Naval Dockyards. Whilst its current services are currently confined to technical education and training, it is envisaged that, once its new campus buildings are available, it will extend its activities to other fields of education and training of a general nature such as administration, catering, finance, management, and materials handling.

Future Development

As indicated above, student numbers in the past two years have declined alarmingly and the College is being very much under-utilised. However, measures are being taken which hopefully will reverse this trend. The College has acquired almost seven hectares of land in the Wingfield area on an indefinite lease basis from the Department of Public Works and Land Affairs. It is hoped that the small development on this new campus site currently being planned will gain momentum and result in a complete College complex being built in the not too distant future.

The SA Defence Force is a huge organisation, requiring a wide range of expertise and skills, and it is the aim of the College to provide the necessary personnel and physical facilities in order to ensure that effective education and training is available to this community which it is our privilege to serve.

*** One Parachute Battalion Trains Paratroopers**

34000179A Pretoria PARATUS in English
1 Sep 89 pp 42-43

[First 6 paragraphs in box]

[Text] International friends of South Africa are by no means a rare breed, as was proved by Citizen Force Capt Steve Camp when he visited the fifth annual International Association of Airborne Veterans' tour of Israel recently.

Seventy one Airborne veterans from all over the world were flown from New York to Israel for the eight day tour. Countries represented included Germany, Sweden, France, Italy, England and South Africa. The veterans who attended the tour had served in distinguished units such as the French Foreign Legion, Green Berets and the Special Forces of the United States Marines. All the veterans had been action, many serving in the "hot spots" of the world such as Europe during World War II, Korea, Vietnam, Grenada and the Belgian Congo.

The tour included visits of restricted Israeli military sites, the Golan heights and an official wreath-laying ceremony at the Israeli Paratroopers' Memorial. But the highlight of the tour attended by Cap Camp, was a ground training airborne refresher course and a staticline jump from an Hercules C130 with Israeli paratroopers.

All veterans who successfully completed the jump were later awarded their Israeli Paratrooper Wings and a Certificate by the OC of the Israeli Defence Force Airborne Training Centre Col Zeeu Doron.

The oldest jumper was 71 years old and among his credits are five operational jumps over Europe during World War II.

Speaking about his experiences in Israel, Capt Camp said he had been very well and positively received by all the veterans, and that the event had been characterised by the usual camaraderie associated with airborne units all over the world.

Prospective Paratroopers now have just three days to prove they are tough enough to be counted among the elite of the South African Defence Force, 1 Parachute Battalion in Bloemfontein, and are ready to undergo training at the Unit.

Three days of tough physical and mental tests, designed to test the men until almost breaking point, are now the criteria for being chosen to undergo training as a paratrooper at 1 Parachute Battalion.

Previously, the selection period for prospective Paratroopers was two weeks. According to Col James Hills, Officer Commanding 1 Parachute Battalion, various shortcomings had come to the fore in the old selection system.

"The old system, through the years, showed up various weak-points. It had to be improved. The standard for Paratroopers had to be applicable and realistic," he said.

"Paratroopers have to be physically and psychologically strong to enable them to continue fighting when all the elements are against them and the enemy has the upper hand. They have to be disciplined and be able to suppress their natural fears, because in the nature of their work they will often be placed in very difficult situations."

The selection process has been changed to consist of simulated battle situations in which prospective Paratroopers can expect to find themselves in a war situation.

Day one of the new-look selection process begins with a battle skill/proficiency test. This consists of four stamina and four power tests. The stamina test consists of the following:

- a. 3.2 km run with battle dress in 18 mins.
- b. Shuttle run—nutria dress—40 shuttle runs 90 sec.
- c. Sheepcarry—battle dress—150 m - 75 sec.
- d. Haunch kicks—nutria dress—120 haunch kicks.

The power tests consist of:

- a. 6 ft wall—battle dress—2 opportunities.
- b. Sit-ups—nutria dress—67 sit-ups.
- c. Push-ups—nutria dress—35 push-ups.
- d. Rope climb—battle dress.

The student may fail one test in the stamina and one test in the power section.

The next physical fitness orientated test is boxing. Opponents of similar size and weight tackle each other for three minutes in the boxing ring to test their aggression.

Next is the 12 kilometre walk with full combat dress.

As darkness falls, the candidates get the promise of sleep. After digging trenches, however, they are allowed to rest their weary bones for just two hours.

Day two starts with another 12 kilometre walk. This time they have a simulated stretcher case to carry with them, weighing 75 kilograms.

After a short rest, candidates tackle the feared and notorious Parabat Obstacle Course.

To test their fear of the unknown, a self-confidence course is held in total darkness.

Day three starts with cross-country pole races. Following this, an obstacle run begins.

The three days take place with candidates having minimum sleep and minimum food. Freezing conditions are another hurdle they have to content with. For example, the morning of the second day dawned an icy minus six degrees Celsius.

Col Hills explained the new course:

"Selection begins directly as the candidates walk into 1 Parachute Battalion's gate. During basic training, candidates are watched with eagle eyes. Those who do not do well in their basic training/fail the parachute selection, and are sent to the infantry units where they are needed.

Candidates are positively prepared in basic training for the selection process. Col Hills says that three days is more than enough to finally check whether candidates have the necessary characteristics for becoming paratrooper soldiers.

The Selection tests are kept as closely as possible to actual fighting situations. Previously, said Col Hills, the tests were more group orientated. Weaker candidates were able to slip through as they were protected by the group. The new system is far more orientated towards checking the individual. With the new system, injuries are kept to a minimum because the period of the course is much shorter.

After finally passing the Selection Course, the candidates begin a four-week jumping course. When PARATUS visited the Unit, the new recruits were preparing for their first jump. The day before the jump, almost all spoken to confessed to being nervous about their coming ordeal.

The morning of the jump dawned bright and sunny. A slight puff of wind had the instructors concerned, because had it picked up too much, the jump would have been abandoned as it would have become too dangerous.

The parachutes were checked and re-checked. Safety is of paramount importance at the Unit.

The looks on the men's faces was enough to confirm that most of them were more than a little nervous. Finally, it was time for the first eighteen to board the waiting Dakota. Their friends on the ground soon relaxed as they saw the relatively faultless jumps executed by the first batch.

When it was the next eighteen's turn, they again began to look a bit green around the gills. They sang a song to rouse flagging spirits, and gave the thumbs-up. The instructors ran over the commands for the last time, carefully checking their packs for any last minute hitches, and finally the bell rang, signalling one minute to jump time.

This time there was no hiding the looks on their faces.

Shuffling forward, they were ready for their first jump. Two bells signalled time to jump, and the first four left the open cargo door...

Back on the ground, the rush of adrenalin encouraged them to eagerly tell their mates how wonderful it was and that they were not scared at all. Tales of how the wind caught them, how they were not affected by ground rush, and how hard most of them landed, soon abounded.

Without exception, all of them expressed the desire to immediately jump again!

Asked what it was like, one of them said: "You can't describe it to someone who hasn't done it, been there. It's such an incredible feeling."

* Navy's Hydrographic Office Describes Charting

34000179B Pretoria PARATUS in English
1 Sep 89 pp 4-5

[Article by Charl Hattingh]

[Text] In this job, a single mistake can cause the sinking of a ship and cost lives. Charting the ocean is an intricate task which involves exploring uncharted areas as hazardous as the Skeleton Coast and using sophisticated equipment such as a computer than understands human speech.

A nautical chart represents the ocean in the same way a topographic map represents the land. "Contour lines mark dangerous shoals and reefs, while symbols point out prominent features that can help the mariner find his way at sea, such as light houses, beacons and buoys," says WO2 Malcolm Nelson, head of the Nautical Chart Division of the Hydrographic Office of the SA [South Africa] Navy at Naval Command West, Silvermine.

"The work of the office is not only of importance to the Navy; it is a service to the whole maritime community," he says. It is a member of the International Hydrographic Organization, of which 56 countries are members. The charts that the South African Hydrographic Office produces, are available to any commercial or private vessel from any country. The office also produces other important maritime publications such as the South African Sailing Directions, the List of Light, and tide tables.

The lengthy process of producing a navigational chart starts with a survey at sea. The office has one survey vessel, the SAS PROTEA. According to Lt Cdr Burnet de Wet, survey operations officer, the PROTEA criss-crosses over the area to be charted, recording the depth at given points on computer. "We also take physical samples of the ocean floor so that we can see whether there is sand or rock underneath."

The PROTEA can carry a helicopter to airlift crew and vehicles to the shore to set up navigational beacons and determine where the high water mark is. "South Africa has many rugged shores, so we use two scramblers and a three wheeled motor-cycle on land." The survey sometimes takes up to six months, depending on the terrain and desired scale of the chart.

Once the information from the PROTEA reaches the office of Naval command West, the compilation of the chart starts, says WO2 Nelson. This can take another six months. Most of the charts are still meticulously drawn by hand. Even the hundreds of minute numbers on the chart that indicate depth are done without stencils, but

the technicians and artisans achieve a result that is comparable with typeset lettering. "Finally, the work has to be checked and re-checked, because just one unmarked shoal could sink a ship."

Once a chart has been published, it is by no means final. It has to be updated continuously from information received by the users and other agencies to mark new shipwrecks or shoals. The office publishes monthly notices to mariners containing this information for updating the charts. The up to four hundred copies of the affected chart in the chart depot have to be updated—individually, and by hand.

Approximately 150 charts are being produced or maintained by the office. They differ in scale from 1:6,000 to 1:10,000,000 and cover the coastline from the Kunene River in the west to Ponta do Ouro in the east. The office also charts parts of the adjacent oceans and coastline and the sea around islands like Gough and Marion.

Extensive charting is being done on South Africa's west coast, as some areas were last charted fifty years ago when unsophisticated instruments like the sextant were still mainly used. The whole area from Walvis Bay to Cape Columbine has, however, not been adequately charted. Because it is unsurveyed and treacherous, many ships have run ashore here—hence the ominous name: Skeleton Coast.

An exciting development in the office is the creation of a vast electronic data bank, which could eventually contain all navigational charts of the south African oceans, says Mr Anthony Pharaoh, the systems manager. Data about an area at sea can be fed into a powerful computer in order to produce a full-colour chart on the screen. This chart can then be modified by pressing a few keys—just like text can be changed on a word processor.

Such a chart can be printed out instantly, in full colour, using a sophisticated plotting device. "It was the first of its kind in the country and probably still is the only one," he says.

An outstanding feature of the computer is one of the ways in which it can be fed data: the operator simply speaks to it. Speaking into a microphone, he reads the soundings (depth values) that would usually be typed in on the keyboard. The computer "hears" the values, which are eventually used for the production of a full-colour navigational chart.

* Testing Method for Black Recruits Described

90EF0048A Pretoria PARATUS in Afrikaans
Sep 89 p 24

[Article by Capt J.B. Wachter: "Testing Black Members for the District Battalions"]

[Text] The aim of testing is the prediction of human behavior in a certain environment, usually the work environment. Psychology has contributed to this area by establishing psychometric tests to assist in making these

predictions in a scientifically correct manner. Psychometric tests, also known as psychological tests, are primarily paper and pencil tests. They usually consist of a booklet of questions and an answer sheet and the responses are written. It therefore follows that persons who are being evaluated by these tests must have a certain degree of formal education. Because the overwhelming majority of the candidates who are to be selected for district battalions do not possess this degree of schooling, psychometric tests cannot be applied to them. In addition, since these members will principally be used as infantrymen, the requirements they must fulfill are primarily of a physical nature. Consequently, it was evident that psychometric testing in each case would be of little or no value as a testing instrument. A study of possible alternative testing methods was then initiated in 1984.

The testing method had to fulfill the following requirements:

a. The method must be scientifically accurate—that is, the method must be objective and its predictive validity must be able to be determined;

b. The method must be applicable to persons who are semieducated;

c. The method must be able to distinguish between persons who are going to function successfully in a physical environment and those who will not;

d. The method be able to be applied to large numbers of persons in a short period of time.

Taking the above considerations into account, the decision was made to develop an evaluation center. All the candidates are assembled at this center and are exposed to a series of practical situations. Such a center was developed in 1984 and the method has been applied with great success since then. This evaluation system measures the following dimensions:

a. **Amenability to Training.** The candidate's ability to understand verbal instructions (in Afrikaans or English) is evaluated. In order to structure this, the candidate is exposed to instructions from an instructor for a specific length of time, then for a specific period of time from another instructor, and thereafter is evaluated in a prescribed manner by a third instructor. The purpose of changing instructors is to ensure objectivity and standardization. Each instructor has a certain personal style.

b. **Perseverance.** The candidate's willingness to persist under difficult circumstances is measured by means of observations of his conduct during a 10-km road march as well as during physical training sessions. Because this test is difficult to structure, instructors are trained first and rotated among the various groups to ensure a greater degree of objectivity.

c. **Amenability to Discipline.** The candidate's willingness to subject himself to rules is evaluated by giving him instruction in personal neatness and that of his tent. He

is subsequently evaluated for the duration of his evaluation period against an established standard. In addition, attention is paid to the candidate's promptness when he is expected to fall in and to how quickly he responds to orders.

d. **Physical Ability.** The candidate's fitness is determined by the time it takes him to cover a distance of 2.4 km, and his ability is observed during physical training sessions.

e. **Leadership Qualities.** The candidate's leadership qualities are evaluated by exposing a group of candidates to a problem situation—e.g. setting up a tent—and observing the degree to which candidates take the lead in the situation.

In order to administer the evaluation center, use is made of the relevant unit's existing infrastructure and candidates are housed in the accommodations which exist for the candidates undergoing testing. To make the situation even more realistic, they are provided with overalls, boots, and canteens for the duration of the evaluation period. The candidates are divided up into platoons of 20 men each.

After each exercise the scores of each platoon are processed and the average for the various platoons is calculated. If there is a statistically significant deviation in this average that may be attributable to an instructor's subjective judgement, the necessary corrections are made to adjust the scores of the platoon in question in accordance with the scores of the entire group. Consequently, the greatest disadvantage of an evaluation center—to wit, subjectivity—is alleviated to a great extent. The high costs associated with the evaluation center are a problem because a large number of candidates must be fed and housed for 3 days—the duration of the evaluation period.

The evaluation center is operated under conditions similar to those which candidates experience in basic training and with similar training—drilling and PT, for example. These several days thus also serve as an induction course for the successful members. In addition, successful candidates are usually kept in the same platoons they were in at the evaluation center and in which a certain degree of esprit de corps has already developed. This has a positive effect on the new members adjustment to basic training.

The instructors of the relevant unit are necessarily active participants at the evaluation center. They are responsible for giving instruction as well as judging the candidates. They are trained to do this by members of the Personnel Division's Personnel Evaluation Section. In addition, the evaluation center is operated under the supervision of these members. The district battalions have given favorable acceptance to this testing method. It is also being successfully employed for the defense forces of Venda and Bophuthatswana.

* Firearms Testing Tunnels Opened in Elandsfontein

90EF0048B Pretoria *PARATUS* in Afrikaans
Sep 89 p 22

[By Jannie Hennop]

[Text] A new small-calibre ammunition testing range was recently officially put into service by the South African Defense Force. The range is a part of the Pretoria Military Base and is operated by the Munitions Directorate, which is a part of the Quartermaster General's Department. Small-calibre ammunition from 5.56 mm to 12.7 mm is tested at the new range. Three tunnels of 50, 100, and 500 meters in length form the heart of the range. Each tunnel has its own firing room and there is an elevated control room connected to all three rooms.

The three tunnels are used to test various aspects of ammunition. The 50-meter tunnel is used to test the functioning of ammunition in regard to various types of weapons. Ballistic tests are conducted in the 100-meter tunnel. Ballistics has to do with velocity and pressure. The tunnel is also equipped with devices to measure velocity while data regarding pressure is studied on electronic equipment in the control room. Accuracy is tested in the 500-meter tunnel and it is outfitted with a moveable target.

All three tunnels are soundproof, lighted, ventilated, and have retaining embankments to stop bullets. Sophisticated equipment in the overhead control room ensures that all results are processed within seconds to determine the precise nature and extent of a test. Also present at the inauguration of the range was the quartermaster-general, Lt Gen K.M. Pickersgill, and the director of munitions, Brig Isak Potgieter.

* Namibia Seminar on Military Conflicts

90EF0048C Pretoria *PARATUS* in Afrikaans
Sep 89 pp 23, 58

[Text] Windhoek—New light was shed on various aspects of the border war during a seminar on the topic of "From Ongulumbashe to Cuito: A Review of the Milestones in South-West Africa [SWA]'s Conflicts" which was held on Wednesday, 23 August 1989, by the local Black Sheep Windy Ole Shellhole [chapter] of the Memorable Order of Tin Hats. [Translator's note: A front-line veterans' association founded in 1927 with chapters throughout southern Africa]. The board of directors of the chapter realized that this year, for the first time since the beginning of the "bush war" on 26 August 1966, there is peace in SWA/Namibia. It was decided to commemorate the role of the military veterans in SWA/Namibia's independence process by means of a seminar. The board of directors also announced that henceforth a commemorative service will be held each year on the Sunday nearest 26 August for the military veterans of the "bush war."

Four speakers participated in the seminar: Mr Willem Steenkamp, writer and military correspondent of the CAPE TIMES, who gave a brief account of the war; the historian Dr Sophia du Preez, who discussed Operation Savannah of 1975-1976; Maj Gen Mike du Plessis, retired, who discussed Operation Reindeer and its consequences; and Mr Kevin Muyoba, an ex-member of PLAN (People's Liberation Army of Namibia), who gave an account of his 5-year involvement between 1975 and 1981 and why he then deserted the organization as a result of unjust treatment by his superiors, poor training and organization, and the cowardice of his officers.

Mr Steenkamp, whose most recent book, "South Africa's Border War, 1966-1989"—the first complete recounting of the border war—will be published in late October, said at the beginning of his lecture that the border war lasted so long that it subsequently became totally formless, but now it should be viewed as having consisted of eight clearly distinguishable phases:

- From 1966 to late 1973 there was the Police Action Phase, when the South African Police were responsible for combatting the SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] insurgency;
- From 1974 to March 1976 there was the Early Military Phase, when the South African Defense Force (SADF) assumed responsibility for the protection of the border and was also involved in Operation Savannah in Angola;
- With the SADF withdrawal from Angola following Operation Savannah in March 1966, the Secure Border Phase began, when SWAPO's military wing intensified its attack on SWA from beyond the Angolan border, which had been considered inviolable;
- In December 1977 the Cross-Border Operations Phase began when the then-prime minister, Counselor John Vorster, gave permission to the SADF at the Oubos Conference to undertake contemplated external operations;
- In February 1984 the First Negotiating Phase—along with the concomitant beginning of work by the Joint Monitoring Commission—began. It was to last until May 1985;
- From 1985 to 1987 there was the Small-Scale Operations Phase;
- From September 1987 to June 1988 there was the Angola Phase, during which the SADF acted in support of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]—in other words, external operations that were not targeted against SWAPO bases; and finally
- The Second Negotiating Phase, which, insofar as Mr Steenkamp could determine, was initiated by the Angolans.

Incursions

Among the many interesting observations made by Mr Steenkamp were the following:

- Operation Reindeer of 4 May 1978—the simultaneous attack by parachute troops on Cassinga and the infantry attack on Chetequera—permanently impaired SWAPO's military capability, although it did not break it.
- Operation Sceptic of 10 June 1980 did further damage, and after Operation Protea of late August 1981 PLAN's military capability steadily but surely declined right up to the end of the war although it still could manage deep incursions into the Tsumeb area in 1981, 1982, and 1983.
- The most successful propaganda coup of the war occurred in 1974 when Andreas Shipanga—who at that time was still one of the organization's principal propagandists—convinced the overseas public that South African forces had wiped out an Angolan border kraal despite the fact that it was the work of Portuguese troops.
- The Joint Monitoring Commission effort of 1984-1985 ultimately failed because the Angolan Government never lived up to its promises and never stopped PLAN's southward movement. The Angolans' motive was apparently that a SWAPO government in SWA/Namibia would protect their southern flank in its war with UNITA. Mr Steenkamp added that when the Joint Military Monitoring Commission was founded in 1988, the same thing happened, and as a result the PLAN incursion of 1 April of that year could take place.
- Dr Jonas Savimbi was of incalculable value to South Africa because his activities forced the Angolan Government to use the overwhelming majority of PLAN insurgents against UNITA, resulting in the fact that they were not available for infiltration over the border.
- Despite Cuban propaganda—and this was recently confirmed by President Fidel Castro himself—South Africans never physically attacked Cuito Cuanavale during the 1987-1988 fighting. The reason was mainly because it was not necessary: Their main objective was to neutralize the base and they achieved this by means of continuous artillery bombardment. They did, however, attack the Tumpo logistics base east of Cuito Cuanavale three times.
- The Cuban air attack on Calueque in June of last year was not merely a retaliatory attack following Cuban losses during an infantry battle a few hours earlier. The attack targeted the work that South African engineers had done to enable SADF tanks to use the dam embankment as a bridge—and it was successful since one of the approaches that the engineers had built was destroyed. Although this was virtually the only Cuban military success in 1987-88, for inexplicable reasons President Castro characterized it as merely a retaliatory attack.

Eyewitness Accounts

Among other things, Gen Du Plessis expounded on the Cassinga attack for which he was the commanding officer. He said that Cassinga was attacked because it

was a "fat" PLAN target and he added that according to his personal observations, about 50 women and children were killed during the attack, not hundreds as is maintained by SWAPO. He said there are eyewitness accounts that SWAPO itself shot some of the women and children when they fled from the trenches. During the withdrawal about 30 young blacks who had previously been abducted from Ovamboland had pleaded to be taken along. It was impossible, however, because the paratroopers' helicopters were too heavily laden, but he and his men handed over all their remaining rations to the small group. Afterwards, however, he often had had sleepless nights on account of his inability to take them along.

Gen Du Plessis became involved in various disputes with Namibian Council of Churches and SWAPO supporters in the audience. When asked how it was that he estimated the civilian death toll to be 50 when afterward certain correspondents had seen trenches packed with the corpses of women and children, he responded as follows: "We were not there at the time (when the correspondents visited Cassinga). The people who went there saw what SWAPO wanted them to see. We were there before that. Had we been there (at the time of the correspondents' visit), we could have disputed it." Asked if South Africa had won the war, he said: "You do not win a revolutionary war. You only contain it. In this sense one can say that South Africa won the war."

Confrontation

Kevin Muyoba, the former member of SWAPO's armed wing, related that the Shipanga rebellion nearly brought SWAPO to its knees because Shipanga had the support of 500 well-trained soldiers just returned from Russia. The soldiers supported Shipanga because they were dissatisfied over the fact that there was no democracy within SWAPO. He said there was nearly a violent confrontation between Shipanga supporters and Nujoma supporters and that bloody battles had been avoided through the intervention of the Zambian Army. According to Muyoba, it was so difficult for PLAN to obtain recruits in 1976 in the Caprivi Strip that it had to abduct people. He himself was chosen for air defense training but his instructor was so poorly trained that he was only able to disassemble and assemble the anti-aircraft gun. When Muyoba complained about this he was arrested as a South African spy and he was imprisoned for 4 months in the "dungeon." When firefights occurred, the commanders were the first to run away. As soon as they heard the helicopters, "they would get in their small military vehicles and go." People with a degree of education were often selected for study overseas and then were suddenly bumped in favor of Ovambos who could not read or write. The manner in which SWAPO leaders were so readily arresting their fellow Namibians bothered Muyoba a lot. He told about a PLAN member who had been the deputy secretary of defense, later was demoted to a lower post, and then became deputy head of a "kindergarten" before disappearing without a trace.

Dr Sophia du Preez said that the value of Operation Savannah was that it emphasized the need for modernizing South African weapons systems. South Africa undertook the operation with World War II weaponry but nonetheless achieved remarkable success. A book about Operation Savannah on which she collaborated will be published soon.

* De Klerk Warns Against Dependence on Gold

34000885A Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
1 Nov 89 p 4

[Article by Gerald Reilly]

[Text] Dependence on the gold industry was cause for concern because of the volatility of international prices, President F.W. de Klerk said yesterday.

Opening the Rand Refinery in Germiston, he said this was why so much insistence was being placed on inward industrialisation and broadening exports in content and diversification.

Until 1985 SA [South Africa] was the lowest-cost gold producer of five major producers. In 1987 it became the highest cost producer of the five.

"The industry will be hard put to contain further increases as long as inflationary trends continue, which hopefully will not be long if government and the private sector put their heads together," he said.

The refinery was a step towards keeping mining industry costs down.

He stressed again the utmost importance of proper co-ordination and implementation of a cohesive economic policy in a period of dynamic change.

The highest degree of co-ordination of government actions in the economic sphere would be incomplete if the best possible co-operation between government and the private sector was lacking. Economic measures and long term strategies would have to be executed in harmony.

Reform

"We will have to see to it that fiscal, monetary and all other economic policy measures do not only not clash, but complement each other."

Also social constitutional and economic reform processes would have to integrate with each other, he said.

Referring to SA's efficient mining industry co-ordinated by the Chamber of Mines, De Klerk said the value of the chamber had been proven again in the draft Mineral Bill negotiations, involving government and many groups in the private sector.

The Bill would soon be thrashed out in parliament. Hopefully, it would ensure continued stability and prosperity for the mining industry well into the future.

"Although a capital outlay of R78m was needed this will undoubtedly bear fruit through saving in labour, higher productivity, greater all round efficiency and a streamlining of the refining process."

De Klerk said the R32,5bn annually which came from the refinery was of critical importance to the national economy and would maintain and strengthen the base of the international monetary system.

* Black, White Organizations Oppose Sanctions

34010053B Cape Town *DIE BURGER in Afrikaans*
7 Sep 89 p 16

[Text] Johannesburg—A delegation from six South African business and municipal organizations has appealed for more foreign investment and a strengthening of the black economy as the best way to effect peaceful change in South Africa and stability in the region.

In a press statement issued yesterday, the Chamber of Mines said that the delegation attended a UN session on transnational corporations (TNCS) in South Africa and South-West Africa held in Geneva, where it demanded that the international community do away with sanctions and disinvestment.

Costs Higher

The delegation represents the Afrikaners Trade Institute, ASSOCOM [Association of Chambers of Commerce], the Chamber of Mines, the Federated Chamber of Industries, the South African Black Taxi Association (SABTA) and the United Municipalities of South Africa.

In a statement, Mr Peter Gush, a member of the executive committee of the Chamber of Mines, said that he believes that the time is now ripe to shift the emphasis away from punitive actions against South Africa towards reducing sanctions in order to keep up progress towards reform.

"Strict economic measures will not succeed in producing the desired results. They have increased the costs associated with apartheid, but not effected political reform," he said.

* Country Embarks on Major Export Drive

34000181A Johannesburg *THE STAR in English*
6 Oct 89 p 14

[Text] In response to the debt recall by its major lenders and sanctions by the U.S., South Africa has embarked on an export drive.

Dr Stef Naude, Director-General of the Department of Trade and Industry, says the Government and the private sector are working very closely to restructure export potential.

"My department has established 32 offices around the world, which cost a lot of money to keep operational. If staff members do not perform, they will be recalled immediately.

"We are looking for results and my core team is of a very high calibre. We expect our staff members worldwide to back up their expertise with results.

"I have travelled abroad and talked to many businessmen and government officials in countries that South Africa has never traded with before," he says.

Businessmen

"Unfortunately I am not in a position to divulge who I have been talking to or where I will shortly be leading a team of prominent South African businessmen to.

"But suffice to say it encompasses a wide spectrum of socialist-oriented countries.

"Our efforts to foster trade with South African countries have been singularly successful and we expect some major advances in the region.

"Our economy is by far the largest on the continent and the pragmatism that is sweeping across sub-Saharan Africa should lead to a whole new wave of economic development, if the political support to boost this is forthcoming."

He says traditional export markets will remain, but that as an exporting country South Africa is beginning to flex its muscles.

"We have a wealth of business, financial and industrial talent and are now devising ways and means of using this to our and our neighbours' advantage."

Academic

Mr Naude, an academic in mercantile law, was chairman of the Competition Board prior to his appointment to the Department of Trade and Industry.

He was largely responsible for the legislation dealing with the introduction of the close Corporation Act.

"I am a firm believer in keeping it simple. Civil servants must not be obliged to get bogged down in a plethora of paper work.

"The Close Corporation idea was designed to allow potential businessmen more freedom to succeed with their entrepreneurial designs.

"This is the way that South Africa will succeed in building up its exports.

"We in the department are totally committed to assisting business to export.

"The more we can cut out excessive paperwork, the more successful will this country be in flooding the world's markets with Made-in-South Africa labels."

* Foreign Debt Seen as 'Spur' to Economic Reform

34000200A Johannesburg *FINANCIAL MAIL*
in English 13 Oct 89 pp 32-33

[Text] Last year, SA [South Africa] appeared headed for another foreign debt crisis. Economists warned that the only way to avoid default was through "an endemic and deep-seated recession." *BUSINESS DAY* editorialised that "barring miracles, SA will not be able to pay." *FINANCE WEEK* headlined: "Debt default looms again, crisis threatens SA..."

And to make sure this doomsday scenario came to pass, the sanctions lobby began devising ways for tightening the financial screws even further.

But like a frightening storm that breaks up before ever arriving, this segment of the Great Debt Saga is turning out to be uneventful. And some economists now say that the entire saga, instead of being a disaster, will prove to have long-lasting positive effects if it forces the country finally to reform the economy.

"In a perverse way, Archbishop Desmond Tutu has been doing us a favour," says economist Azar Jammie, of Econometrix.

For some time, 1990 and 1991 have been seen as the most menacing period in the debt debacle, the hump SA must overcome before things get better. The debt picture next year still poses a serious threat but 1991 now appears less difficult than average. That once-jagged peak has been rounded out a little:

- The Reserve Bank now estimates that US\$2.2bn in debt will fall due next year, down somewhat from earlier forecasts because of rollovers and the chance of small new loans. But that figure still is \$400m greater than the largest net payment made so far, in 1986. The payments drop to \$1.4bn in 1991, less than in 1986 and 1987; and
- The rescheduling agreement governing the debt that SA froze in 1985 expires on 30 June, but that's no longer as worrisome as it was just a few months ago. Firstly, by mid-1990 only 40 percent of SA's foreign debt—about \$8bn—will remain trapped in what's become known as the standstill net. That figure is down from the \$14bn frozen in 1985. Some of that money was repaid but most was taken out of the net and converted to long-term debt. Secondly, the agreement now is expected to be renewed without much difficulty after, as Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals puts it, "some hard bargaining."

It wasn't supposed to be this easy. Encountering resistance to more trade sanctions and divestment, sanctioners shifted their attention to financial sanctions this year. A report to the Commonwealth called them "almost ideal as an international weapon against apartheid." The focus became SA's approaching negotiations

over the debt caught in the net, the only part of the \$21.2bn debt up for discussion.

Believing that the SA economy was virtually shut off from foreign credit, and with its strength sapped by the mounting debt payments, sanctions groups moved in for what they thought would be the kill. But the weapon isn't turning out to be all that potent.

Firstly, the sanctions movement is divided on strategy. Some U.S. Congress members want to prohibit U.S. banks from renewing the rescheduling agreement. Other proposals call for pressuring the banks to force SA to accept very tough terms—the highest possible interest rates and the shortest possible payment period.

But the sanctioners underestimate SA's leverage; if the SA authorities don't get the terms they want they probably will just set their own terms. With some international banks writing off bad Third-World loans left and right, they don't believe they can force the hand of one country that is in fact paying its debts, interest and all. The banks don't want to play politics; they just want to get their money back and keep their shareholders happy. SA, on the other hand, wants to repay the money to re-establish a good credit rating.

Secondly, the sanctions lobby geared up too late. The first major public protest took place only last week, when banks in New York, London, Paris, Bonn and Zurich were targeted. In Manhattan, 29 people were arrested for blocking doors at Manufacturers Hanover's headquarters.

Next week, the issue will be spotlighted at the meeting of the Commonwealth heads of state. They are expected to demand that banks not reschedule their loans inside the net until SA meets a series of political demands.

But the issue probably was settled six months ago. By then the U.S. banks—the most susceptible to sanctions pressure—had agreed to take nearly all their loans out of the net and convert them to long-term debt. Of the \$2.4bn now owed to the U.S. banks—SA's biggest creditors after the UK banks—less than \$700m is left in the net. Not much of a pressure point.

In short, the sanctioners were outmanoeuvred. Fearful of the pressure they would face as negotiations on the new rescheduling agreement neared, the banks shifted some \$4.5bn out of the net. Ironically, the threat of pressure led the banks to exactly the course of action SA wanted and that the sanctions lobby didn't want—reducing the size of the net.

Aside from sidestepping pressure, the banks like the long-term option for another reason: they get an even higher interest rate than the high rate paid on debt inside the net and they get a guarantee that all the money will be paid in nine-and-a-half years.

With debt inside the net, the banks get only token payments on the principal. Citibank, for example, says it's gotten back only 5 percent of its principal since 1985

and now has bowed out of the net completely; it's converted its entire \$666m SA exposure to a long-term loan. The current rescheduling agreement calls for only 13 percent of the principal to be repaid over the pact's three years and the banks may not be able to get a much better deal with a new agreement. Under the long-term option, the banks receive only interest for five years and then receive the entire principal over the next four-and-a-half years in equal, semi-annual installments.

SA likes the long-term option too because it pushes more of the debt payments past the critical period next year.

The debt dilemma began in August 1985 when Chase Manhattan, panicked by the daily scenes of violence in the townships on the nightly news, cut off its line of credit and refused to roll over its maturing loans. Other U.S. banks quickly followed.

"Watching television every night, foreign bankers got the impression that the whole country was going up in flames and that either there would be a Marxist takeover or a virtual civil war," former Reserve Bank Governor Gerhard de Kock said last year.

Suddenly SA was liable for billions in immediate payments—an impossible bill. SA declared a payment moratorium on more than half its debt—the standstill net—but it continued to pay interest, and in 1986, it reached agreement with the bankers on the principal.

The crisis was over but a long slow drain on SA's economy began. Unable to get new foreign loans and forced to ship a billion dollars or more overseas each year, SA's growth turned anaemic, far below the rate needed to stay ahead of population growth. But the economy couldn't be allowed to grow too much, the government reasoned, because that would suck in imports and threaten the balance of payments. So Pretoria instituted a wide range of measures—import surcharges, tighter HP restrictions—so exports could continue to outstrip imports, generating the foreign exchange that's earmarked to pay the debt.

The result has been rising unemployment, falling investment and a declining standard of living. Government officials like to blame the credit cutoff. But some see the austerity in a different light. "It's a blessing in disguise," says Econometrix's Jammie. "It's imposed a healthy discipline on the public and private sectors that was needed."

Jammie and other economists say the credit crunch is convincing SA to do what it should have done all along—tame inflation, balance the budget, cut taxes, privatise, deregulate and install policies that encourage rather than discourage savings. If these measures were in place in 1985, SA would have had healthier reserves and a stronger currency that would have better withstood any balance of payments problems.

Deputy Reserve Bank Governor Jan Lombard has said that if savings were encouraged and invested more

productively, there would be no 2 percent-3 percent annual constraint on growth.

Southern Life economist Mike Daly says that as a result of the debt saga, "the level of economic knowledge in the Cabinet has picked up markedly; the level of government spending and taxes are now seen as responsible for the broad malaise in the economy."

But is the government putting these lessons into practice? Not exactly. About 40 percent of the credit that was cut off went to government and government corporations, so the action of the foreign banks was a blow for sounder fiscal policies. But government spending continues out of control, though access to foreign loans could only have made it worse.

"Brazil and Argentina have hyperinflation because their governments kept spending money they borrowed from abroad," Jammie says. "The foreign banks have done us a favour by preventing us from borrowing from them."

Government seems more serious about another important lesson of the credit cutoff, the need to rein in the money supply and quash inflation. Stals has promised to keep interest rates high until inflation is beaten.

"The debt payments give Stals a very nice excuse to exercise an anti-inflationary monetary policy," Jammie says. "It's easier to do because he can point to the need to conserve foreign exchange."

Daly believes that the credit cutoff is also helping the economy by spurring government to press ahead with privatisation and deregulation.

The other 60 percent of the terminated credit went to private companies and that cutoff carries positive effects too. "Many companies were overborrowed in 1985-1986," Jammie says. "The cutoff has driven them to become more efficient because they had to grow through retained earnings." And the cutoff, he says, has led some companies to issue more stock—a healthier way to raise capital than by taking on debt.

Jammie says the ability to borrow abroad is overrated; most countries waste the money they borrow. "South Korea is the only example of a developing country that had access to a huge pool of foreign capital and used it productively. The countries that have succeeded the most have generated their growth from within rather than from outside."

Economist David Mohr, of Old Mutual, says SA's private sector really needs "equity participation, not loans, because it doesn't add to debt."

Jammie adds: "It would be counterproductive if we regain access to foreign loans now because the government continues to overspend and inflation is still too high. But if we can restructure the economy, the scene is set for healthier economic growth because it will be built on a firmer, low-debt base."

"Because of all this, SA is a hell of a lot poorer," Daly says, "but we may never have learned these lessons otherwise."

* Minister Speaks in Favor of Free Enterprise

34000880C Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN* in English
1 Nov 89 p 13

[Article by Monica Nicolson]

[Text] With 60 percent of the population under the age of 20 a massive effort was needed to push the gross domestic product (GDP) to 8 percent, the minimum growth necessary to sustain the increasing population, the Minister of Trade, Industry and Tourism Mr Kent Durr said yesterday.

Addressing the Federated Chamber of Industries' annual meeting in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Durr said the economic road to the future hinged to growing industrialisation and he emphasised the need to widen export performance.

Mr Durr said there had to be room for a broad view of the way the economy would have to develop if the challenges of our time were to be confronted and overcome.

"The success of the new world will require a strenuous effort of imagination and adaptation by citizens and businessmen alike.

"The best planning is simply to let private energies get on with the job of moneymaking."

"To the extent that industrial policy is necessary, however, I see it as a dynamic process that must ever be adapting to changing times and circumstances.

He said South Africa's economy rested squarely on the principles of free enterprise and market economy.

"Never have we had so promising an opportunity to build a national consensus, across the traditional divides, on the issue of the best means of delivering economic growth."

He said tremendous opportunities, political and economic alike, were opening up for South Africa.

One third of South Africa's total exports of manufactured goods were sent to African markets, particularly those countries on SA borders.

Mr Durr said these markets should be cultivated.

"Our trading links with countries on our borders are long and well established despite political differences and are of mutual benefit to both sides."

South Africa should increasingly try to view the Southern African region as constituting a single market. By doing so, South Africa's economy and industrial development could flourish and thereby the economic progress of the entire region would benefit.

A single market would in turn provide a springboard for export wider afield, Mr Durr said.

The government has been seeking ways to free-up the economy—to deregulate and privatise—so as to remove restraints on private energies and thereby create work, wealth and incomes, Mr Durr said.

"The striking growth of our informal sector testifies eloquently to the success of this policy.

"The State President has put economics at the centre of the country's concern as never before. We are determined to get the fundamentals right, to provide the basis from which sustained and healthy economic growth can take place.

"We must always play to our strength, not our weakness, and not misallocate the limited resources that our country has at its disposal to meet the massive challenges and opportunities that lie ahead," Mr Durr concluded.

* Research and Development Policy Taking Shape

* Government's New Approach

34000076 Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English
1 Sep 89 p 14

[Government policy on research and development (R & D) is beginning to take shape.

At the heart of its new approach is the promotion of local technology for SA [South Africa] to build industrial muscle.

One requirement behind the more technologically geared policy is the need for research councils to work on a more commercial basis to reduce the R & D burden on taxpayers.

Another is the need for SA to develop a greater level of import substitution and boost exports to improve the country's foreign exchange position.

Yet another is the urgent need to create more employment.

The policy-cum-administrative structure remains a complex web.

The Ministry of National Education, advised by the Scientific Advisory Council, remains responsible for national science policy.

Parliamentary grants to the SA Bureau of Standards (SABS) and the four statutory research councils—the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), the Council for Mineral Technology (Mintek), the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) and the Medical Research Council—are determined by this Ministry.

Yet the CSIR, SABS and Mintek report to the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Technology—the first two

through the Ministry's Department of Trade and Industry and Mintek through the Ministry's Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs.

The Ministry—assisted by a reconstituted Advisory Council for Technology that includes leaders from industry—develops and administers policy, but does not seek to prescribe to these bodies just how they should run their programmes.

This "hands-off" approach, based on the premise that scientists and other experts on the councils know best how to do their jobs, was finalized little more than a year ago. Government calls it "framework autonomy."

At about the same time the policy on grants was changed to one of "baseline funding".

The idea was to encourage research councils to become more businesslike; they could use the grants as they saw fit, within the broad policy framework, but they could not come back for extra funds.

These they had to earn through contract work for either the state or the private sector.

The CSIR, under the presidency of Chris Garbers, has been streamlined into a more practical organization geared to the needs of the private sector. By the end of last year, through the process of privatization, rationalization and what it terms "transferring out", the CSIR reduced its staff by about 500 to about 4,200.

At the same time, notes chairman Louw Alberts, contract work for the private sector trebled. Income accruing to the 12-division Research, Development and Implementation (RDI) group under Brian Clark is now about half of all income of the CSIR proper.

Rationalization has yet to run its course, says Garbers.

The CSIR has decided that its other group, the Foundation for Research Development (FRD), should become a separate institution devoted to nurturing and funding research, the sciences and engineering at universities, technikons and museums.

Universities are also under pressure to rationalize. "They're where the CSIR was five years ago."

Two further refinements are being mooted, he says—an Agricultural Research Council and a Research Council for Geological Sciences.

The state, unlike most advanced countries, has in the past done little to support technological innovation, which has placed SA at a disadvantage at home and abroad.

Now, it appears, private companies have shown themselves to be either unwilling or unable to bear the considerable cost of developing trail-blazing technology when potential profits are years away.

So where assistance is in the national interest, this should be forthcoming.

Now Department of Trade and Industry technology promotion chief director Hennie Smith says the state has tried to firm up technology policy. Government involvement is now seen to rest on four tiers. It will:

- Maintain a national infrastructure through grants to research councils and, via the FRD, to universities, technikons and museums;
- Create a research climate in the private sector by influencing the "decision framework" of companies;
- Stimulate the local market through more judicious state procurement; and
- Undertake programmes that will lead directly to development of new technology.

The first two legs are "enabling" legs, giving research bodies and private enterprise the wherewithal to get going more purposefully in pursuit of better technology.

The big question relating to the second point is: just how should government try to persuade the private sector to put more into technology development?

The Margo Commission has ruled out tampering with the tax structure, so it seems the only course open to government is direct grants.

Evidence that this is the chosen route comes from the R40m grant to the strategic electronics industry announced earlier this year.

The third category—state procurement—is a huge part of the domestic market.

Armcor, the inflation-hit Moss gas project and the Standing Committee on Electronics, which seek to develop domestic industry through encouragement of state procurement, could be forerunners of similar developments in other sectors.

The fourth policy leg begs the question: How can government actively develop new technology? Smith points to the Atomic Energy Corporation as a heavy-weight example of what has been done.

An important consideration in any new venture is national priority.

One project being mooted, he reveals, is electronics-supported mass education.

A fifth aspect of state decision-making is understood to be troubling some industrial strategists. They are concerned that policy-makers from different departments should consult more closely before irrevocable decisions are taken.

*** Foundation Develops Scientists**

34000076 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
1 Sep 89 p 14

[Text] Eighty people entrusted with the job of helping more than 3,000 scientists throughout SA [South Africa]—that's the Foundation for Research Development (FRD).

Its mission: to develop qualified manpower under able leadership in the natural sciences, engineering and technology. This effort is primarily directed at leading researchers and students at universities, technikons and museums.

The FRG, headed by group executive Rein Arndt, has three groups of activities. These are research funding programmes, national research facilities and national service activities.

It seeks to attain its goals through:

- Operating a peer evaluation system for researchers, programmes and facilities;
- Providing funds for self-initiated research;
- Supplying advanced research equipment;
- Paying special attention to R & D in emergent and neglected fields;
- Clearing the way for national and international liaison;
- Making scientific advice available to decision-makers; and
- Taking responsibility for national facilities (such as the National Accelerator Center at Faure in the Cape and the Hartebeesthoek Radio Astronomy Observatory near Krugersdorp in the Transvaal).

Of the FRD's 1989/90 budget of R114m is allocated to funding programmes, R11m for national service activities and R44m for national facilities.

Applicants in terms of the foundation's peer evaluation system so far total 1,404, and individuals qualifying for grants, 1,121.

Arndt believes strongly—like Mintek president Aidan Edwards—that only through science and technology will SA overcome its wide-ranging socio-economic problems. But scientists and educationists managed to exclude a major part of the community from an awareness of "the excitement of science."

What is more, the business community has failed until recently to recognize the dire need for people qualified in this field. "They didn't give enough credit to the people who made it possible to mine gold 3,000m underground. And you seldom heard that without the boffins the Sasol success story wouldn't have happened.

"The upshot is that too many young people have gone into business administration and not nearly enough into science." The emphasis in countries like Japan has been quite the opposite.

Managements in SA also make the mistake of signing on engineers as managers. "It's time they started on the factory floor," he says.

At broader industry level he urges companies to look at concerted research efforts at a pre-competitive stage so that they make the most of the country's critically restricted resources. "When President Kennedy put a man on the moon it was a concerted effort—and the US made billions."

At national level he calls for a science and technology adviser to government who should be chairman of a National Science Council. He should have the status accorded President George Bush's science adviser—"he walks right into the Oval Office"

In Taiwan the chairman of the National Science Council is not a minister, but he is a member of the Cabinet.

*** Bionix Wins Swiss Contract**

34000076 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
1 Sep 89 p 14

[Text] Bionix, the Sandton-based biotechnology division of Noristan, has been awarded a R2.5m contract by Swiss drug giant F Hoffman-La Roche for the development of cell-lines to produce highly specific human monoclonal antibodies.

Noristan says this puts SA at the forefront of worldwide developments and expertise in the field.

It is an important achievement because medical biotechnology has only remained viable in large multi-national pharmaceutical companies and a few, often state-funded institutions.

Costs are high yet returns have been slow.

Noristan says the contract reinforces its belief that biotechnology can be economically viable, given the correct approach.

"Cooperation and one step at a time are the watchwords here."

It adds: "The treatment of—or cure for—many of today's diseases could lie in the harnessing of our own immune systems through biotechnology."

Company technical director Dr Fritz Snyckers says human monoclonal antibodies have great potential.

"Main uses at the moment are in diagnosis, specifically in diseases like cancer and cardiovascular disease.

"But in the next five to ten years we will probably see some therapeutic applications, probably first in cancer treatment."

Bionix is already busy on the contract, he says, and work should be complete "in about a year."

* New Hydraulic Drill

34000076 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
1 Sep 89 p 14

[Text] The ear-pounding sounds of pneumatic drills biting into rock in SA [South Africa]'s gold and platinum mines are going to be heard less and less.

Enter the hydraulic drill... faster, quieter, cleaner and more economical, say its proponents.

Developed by the Chamber of Mines Research Organization (Comro) in collaboration with private companies, the hydraulic drill—more specifically, the water-based emulsion rock drill—was being used on a limited scale for production purposes by five mines by the end of 1988.

Since then six more mines are understood to have expressed an interest in using the revolutionary drills.

A mass switch from pneumatic to hydraulic drills on existing mines is not expected. Too much money and expertise is tied up in thousands of pneumatic drills, air compressors and other associated equipment for that to happen, says Comro spokesman John Sheer.

New mines are a different story; they can be designed specially for hydraulic drills, it is understood Northam, the Goldfields platinum mine now under development, was planned from the outset for the new type of drill.

The need for a new way of drilling fractured rock faces in deep slopes led to the development of the more powerful hydraulic drill. With its higher torque characteristics, the hydraulic machine drills holes for explosive charges much more efficiently, says Sheer.

Hydraulic drills offer considerable cost efficiencies for new mines, he believes. Air compressors would no longer be needed, electricity bills would be reduced, and drilling would be accomplished twice as fast—without exhaust fogging and without the noise of pneumatic drills.

The first commercially available emulsion-powered hydraulic rock drills—from Ingersoll-Rand—run on high-pressure water but need a 2 percent additive for lubrication. Comro is working with a number of manufacturers to develop a drill that works efficiently on water only.

—Comro has also come up with a computer programme—Environ—that can simulate and analyze heat loads and airflow patterns at all mining depths.

* Mintek President Speaks

34000076 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
1 Sep 89 p 15

[Text] The only way SA [South Africa] can generate the wealth needed to solve its enormous socio-economic problems is to beneficiate minerals on a massive scale, says Dr Aidan Edwards, president of the Council for Mineral Technology (Mintek).

"We are becoming an over-explored country," he argues.

"Instead of looking into more and more mining ventures we should be taking the minerals we already have and exploiting them, adding billions of rands in value to them.

"There is no other way we can generate the huge amounts of money we are going to need to uplift and educate our population and create the kind of dynamic fast-expanding economy this country is capable of sustaining."

He urges establishment of a Precious Metals Research Institute to investigate and develop entirely new products using precious metals.

Gold, says Edwards, has been given a monetary aura that has stifled development of its industrial potential. "It's a consumer product, like copper or nickel. But we don't know what other uses it might have in industry, because nobody has taken the trouble to do the in-depth research."

Producing new added-value products from gold and platinum (or incorporating them) could also have the benefit of spinning out SA's finite resources of these metals.

"One idea we are developing is putting platinum group metals into chrome steels; it gives them tremendous resistance to corrosion."

"We only make one percent of the world's stainless steel," he adds, "yet we have 80 percent of the world's chromium."

Its carbon-in-pulp extraction process is used by "virtually every new gold mine in the world." But the main source of revenue from now on will come from downstream operations, such as special steels and chemicals.

State funding of Mintek, which has almost 400 scientists and engineers in its 11 divisions, amounts to about R45m a year, compared with about \$15m contributed by the private sector.

"From time to time we ask industry how much money is earned abroad from our research endeavors: the replies show that the top 16 projects alone bring in at least R500m annually."

From now on, in keeping with the privatization programme, State grants will diminish steadily, says Edwards. Within five years he anticipates that Mintek will be receiving more income from the private sector than from the State.

In the past the organization's work tended to be measured by how well it was received internationally. "Now even if it is of Nobel Prize quality it wouldn't get a prize from us—unless industry had adopted it and made money out of it."

Research and development, he says, consists of three components.

- The research state—is generally the easiest and cheapest;
- Development—becomes expensive because of the need for test facilities and pilot plants; and
- Technology transfer—is the most difficult and requires an exceptional level of expertise.

Mintek henceforth will tend to discourage financial sponsorship of the initial research, but before embarking on development work it will ask itself: Is this technology such that we'd like to retain ownership of it? If so, Mintek might take the initiative and put up half the development costs—in return for participation in the form of a shareholding, royalties or dividends after transfer of the technology.

"This type of arrangement is normally very attractive to a client," says Edwards, "because during the highest-risk development phase he only has to contribute half the venture capital." It also provides extra incentive to staff of the research and development organization.

Mintek, he adds, is about to implement three significant projects along these lines.

Technology exports over the next few years will continue to provide the greater part of revenue. "Don't let anybody fool you that isolation because of political pressure is debilitating to our technology. When you have something good to sell there are no boundaries."

Mintek's achievements have made SA undisputed world leader in plasma technology, he says.

The process is being used for production of ferrochrome and ferro-manganese. A novel magnesium manufacturing process has been tested.

These processes, he predicts, will lead to products that will bring SA a foreign exchange bonanza.

* CSIR President Speaks

34000076 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
1 Sep 89 p 15

[Text] Peace in southern Africa would pose enormous challenges to SA [South Africa]—internally and externally—says Chris Garbers, president of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR).

On the external front it would be up to SA to "get this continent going economically—because the rest of the world seems to be experiencing increasing alienation with Africa."

AIDS, he says, appears to have "put the fear of death" into foreign investors. And outside SA and a handful of other countries, those who have invested have burnt their fingers.

Garbers says an African economic upliftment campaign requires the linking of First World technological and financial muscle with the "Africa-specific" expertise of southern Africa, so that existing successful ventures could be multiplied throughout the continent.

Peace in the region would also require massive economic readjustments within the country.

"As an example, there are now hundreds of companies associated with Armscor: what is going to happen if southern Africa achieves peace?"

While this country has achieved tremendous technological advancement in recent years, much has still to be done.

Garbers believes there is "a growing realism in government circles about the priority role science and technology must play in any permanent revival and subsequent sound growth in SA's economy".

The new State President is going to have to get science and technology off the ground on a major scale.

"There is no way SA can be self-sufficient in technology: for every bit of technology we develop, 300 bits are developed elsewhere.

"We must direct our efforts at our specific strengths and establish a broad-based infrastructure to derive maximum benefit from the world pool of knowledge."

For SA's industry to get a competitive edge on world markets, he advocates that valuable metals be "made available to domestic industry at preference prices" and then processed into more valuable products.

"We should turn the import replacement thing around. We should look at what people overseas are making with what they buy from us—and move into those areas ourselves."

* Biotechnology Vital Target

34000076 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
1 Sep 89 p 15

[Text] A poll of members of leading scientific, economic and political organizations pinpoints biotechnology as the most vital target area for manpower development in SA [South Africa].

Next, in order of importance, come production technology, electronics technology and information technology.

Bio-technology is the application of scientific and engineering principles to material processing by biological agents to develop products and services.

Applied in widely divergent ways, it yields a broad spectrum of products—including insulin and beer.

It is regarded by scientists worldwide as having enormous potential in fields as disparate as cancer treatment and mineral extraction.

In SA, Mintek has found a way to get a bacteria to nibble at the structures that trap gold in ore.

It believes this revolutionary method will improve mining productivity in an environmentally superior way.

The poll, which was conducted by the Foundation for Research Development Scientometric Advisory Center (Sac), drew 157 responses (56 percent of those approached).

The poll listed the following as the next most vital research areas: environment, materials technology, mineral resources, energy, agriculture and transport.

The need to identify strategic areas of research emerged as a central concern of all industrialized societies, said Sac head Anastassios Pouris.

The most critical factors in this quest were scarcity of qualified people, a shortage of research funds, rising research costs, exponential knowledge growth, and an awareness of the importance of research for economic growth and security.

* Isolation Spurs Development

34000076 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
1 Sep 89 p 16

[Text] Attempts to isolate SA economically are spurring local companies to develop more of their own technology.

One result is a dramatic increase in private enterprise spending on research projects in collaboration with the CSIR [Council for Scientific and Industrial Research].

CSIR Research Development and Implementation (RDI) group executive Brian Clark says the CSIR is working on more than 5,000 contracts—double the number in 1988.

RDI is the major business-g geared research group to emerge from the CSIR's restructuring in 1988. Under it fall the council's 12 research divisions and one center, into which the previous 21 research institutes were consolidated.

Clark says almost all the growth in RDI contract work over the past 12 months has come from the private sector. "Public sector expenditure on research projects with us is virtually stagnant."

He ascribes the flood of work to the effect of sanctions on the thinking of local business leaders.

Most companies used to have ready access to foreign technology; with these avenues closed or threatened,

domestic firms are turning to the CSIR for assistance with research projects costing anything from R10,000 to several million rands each.

Overall research and development spending in SA is estimated to be running at around R2bn. Even at this sharply increased tempo, SA's investment in technology development lags far behind that of the industrialized world.

Typically, says Clark, the more industrially sophisticated a country becomes, the higher the private sector involvement in its national research effort.

In SA, 70 percent of the money is spent by central government and 30 percent by private firms. This is a pattern similar to that in countries like Australia, New Zealand, Portugal, Ireland, Yugoslavia and Turkey. At the other end of the scale, about 80 percent of Japan's research funding is provided by private companies.

In the past South African industry tended to take a particularly narrow view of the world, says Clark. Local manufacturers looked mainly on the domestic market place as their world. As for technology, they were quite content to use what they were getting from foreign parent or associated companies.

Players without a world view have missed out, selling mainly commodities, while others have made impressive gains, selling manufactured goods with a high degree of knowledge content.

"Import replacement is often presented as the greatest thing since sliced bread. But if an industry's view is simply that it must replace imports, it will not plan aggressively enough. It will design a plant that does not take into account export production," says Clark.

What industries should do is use the domestic market purely as a stepping stone to the world. This has been the strategy of countries like Taiwan and Korea, and their successes have been spectacular.

Things are changing in SA—and Clark attributes this largely to attempts to isolate this country. Sanctions have compelled SA to develop its industrial resources and resourcefulness as never before.

While a lot of the CSIR's work remains in the primary areas that drive SA—such as housing, roads and water—he point to new projects that are giving infrastructure development a new dimension, such as the Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme, in which the CSIR is working in association with consulting engineers. Then there is the "crossover" to more sophisticated opportunities for domestic industry offered by Mossagas.

All 12 of the RDI's divisions are experiencing strong growth in contract business from private sources. A range of smaller companies are getting into research through business units such as the Divisions of Production Technology, Materials Science and Technology,

Food Science and Technology, and Processing and Chemical Manufacturing Technology.

Much work comes from motor component manufacturers. "The motor manufacturing industry has been the essence of a functioning partnership between government and private sector," he says. "In its early stages the local content programme had no impact on exports; it was designed to establish heavy industry. The new value-based phase has credits built in for those who export."

But this creates a dilemma for many manufacturers producing components under licence. Usually licence agreements preclude re-export. "So they need new technology to get around the licence restrictions. Probably the hottest area for us at the moment is fuel injection systems."

Another active area is specialized chemicals.

The Division of Building Technology is helping the mining industry develop safer insulation materials.

* CSIR Tunnel

34000076 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
1 Sep 89 p 16

[Text] Sometimes research gives a spin-off in a seemingly unrelated area.

The Division of Aeronautical Systems Technology at the CSIR [Council for Scientific and Industrial Research] built an R80m medium-speed wind tunnel as part of a campaign to upgrade SA [South Africa]'s aerodynamic test facilities.

The tunnel is expanding research in the area of near-sonic speeds, at which most airliners fly. At such speeds theoretical aerodynamics is incapable of predicting air-flow characteristics.

Researchers who worked on the project used their experience in related fields to design—in six weeks—a security fence carrying modular infra-red sensors sensitive to movement at 250m. A spokesman for the division said that previously, sensors had to be not more than 100m apart.

The fence has built-in "intelligence" that allows it to distinguish between a human intruder and, for instance, a flying bird. It is also able to report when rain or mist is likely to impair its performance.

* Portable Analyzer Breakthrough

34000076 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
1 Sep 89 p 16

[Text] A portable gold analyzer enabling mines to improve their ore grades by up to 25 percent is likely to be on the market in little more than two years.

Its designers believe it has the potential to prolong the lives of some marginal mines.

Based on the principle of X-ray fluorescence, the analyzer is a probe for on-the-spot scanning of the mining face. It is able to measure the concentration of gold and other minerals in the rock.

The hand-held probe of the analyzer weighs in at a mere 1.8kg. The electronic processor/power unit is carried on the back.

Under development by the Chamber of Mines Research Organization (Comro) since 1977, the gold analyzer has been designed to operate safely in explosive atmospheres and without threat of radiation.

A fifth prototype, the P5, is at present undergoing pre-production trials at a number of mines to ascertain that its performance is equivalent or superior to that of four previous models, and that it meets the required standards of reliability and ergonomics.

Work has also started on identifying changes to mine operations and procedures when analyzers come into use. The new technology will require additional technical skills, modified work cycles, revised lines of communication and new standard practices.

Ore grades vary throughout the underground reef. Currently the amount of gold and other metals in the rock face is evaluated by means of chip samples.

This is done from time to time and at intervals along the mining surface—and the frequency is limited by constraints of time and manpower.

The samples are assayed in laboratories and results are available in a week or more.

The new method, Comro believes, promises significant improvements. It will allow far more coverage of the rock face and give managements speedier and more precise information.

The analyzer can scan large contiguous areas of the face—in one shift an operator can scan the same length of face a chip sampling team would cover, taking samples of only 10 by 10cm every 6m.

Closely spaced measurements with the analyzer enable the distribution pattern of gold to be more precisely defined. This leads to better mining decisions—such as the selection of reef bands to be mined—and more precise demarcation of payable areas. What's more, it allows for more economical siting of stabilizing pillars, a particular benefit in deep mining.

In both high- and low-grade reefs the analyzer offers far more precise estimates of gold grades, says Comro. And because it is operated by one person it will reduce labor costs presently incurred by the use of sampling teams.

Comro senior director John Sheer sketches a future scenario: "You're in the stope, and you scan the exposed reef continuously. The analyzer stores the on-the-spot

readings of the gold grade and, back on the surface, it is plugged into a PC to give printouts and analyses of all the data."

The advent of the analyzer is expected to improve the ore grade in virtually all gold mines—but particularly in marginal mines. Says Sheer: "Where, for example, the grade today is 4g/t, more judicious selection of reef to be mined could perhaps raise the grade to 5g/t. They'd mine the same amount of rock but there would be more gold in it."

In its current form the analyzer measures gold, lead and iron and, for the Witwatersrand deposits, "deduces" the uranium content from the lead. In principle the technology could be used to analyze any economically interesting element, such as platinum.

An SA firm will manufacture the analyzers which, warns Sheer, will not come cheap. He foresees a local demand for about 500 of the highly sophisticated instruments, and also overseas interest. "Nobody else has a comparable piece of equipment under development."

* Local Scientists Overlooked

34000076 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
1 Sep 89 p 16

[Text] The contributions of SA [South Africa]'s scientists are often overlooked when industrial achievements are announced, says the Council for Mineral Technology (Mintek).

The council cites the example of Ilekochrysos, the Rand Mines platinum venture near Brits.

"The technological development underpinning the operation effectively doubled the world's reserves of the valuable platinum group metals," it says.

Technical factors that led many to believe the UG2 reef could not be mined profitably were the low sulphide and high chromite contents of the ores.

But Mintek invested about R1.2m to prove the "experts" wrong—by developing alternative flotation and smelting techniques.

Mintek was involved in the research concept, undertook preliminary studies and laboratory investigations, built pilot plants and was ultimately directly involved in transfer of the technology to industry."

The processes are covered by Mintek patents.

"The technology is now working at Lefko," the council adds, "and the value to industry (and to SA) is estimated at several hundred million rands a year."

Mintek is currently also doing tests on the exploitation of rare earth elements which, it says, will lead to lighter electric motors for the car industry and more realistic color television images.

Analytical procedures at Mintek have produced "good results", particularly in ion chromatography, which is proving a simple but accurate method of determining soluble rare earth elements.

The council is also pioneering research into the development of chromium, vanadium and manganese chemicals.

Chromium chemicals are used in the plating or metal surfaces, and as pigments, tanning salts, oxidizing agents and catalysts. Other applications include a growing worldwide use as a wood preservative.

SA, it notes, produces about 40 percent of the world's vanadium and has 78 percent of known reserves of manganese ore.

A number of research projects into new vanadium products have been launched.

"Manganese chemicals, particularly the sulphate are used in agricultural fungicides."

manganese dioxide is a powerful oxidizing agent and has a variety of applications, most importantly in dry cell batteries and in the acid leaching of certain ores.

* Johannesburg Transport Study Notes Population

34000882C Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY
in English 1 Nov 89 p 6

[Text] Johannesburg's population will increase from approximately 3-million in the Jomet area as measured in 1985, to 4-million by 2005, a study undertaken for a mass transport system in the area has shown.

Masstran consortium director Bob Stanway told a news conference yesterday that in the "collar" zones the expected population increase would be from 500,000 (1985) to more than 2-million (2005).

"Public trips are expected to increase from approximately 300,000 (1985) to more than 500,000 (2005) and private vehicle trips from 300,000 to approximately 430,000," Stanway said.

He said a major feasibility study into a mass transit system for Greater Johannesburg would be submitted to the Department of Transport by April 1991.

Masstran, a consortium of consulting engineers appointed by the department in February this year, would undertake a broad-based study into alternative land uses, modes of transport and policies, to establish optimum land use and public transport strategy, Stanway said.

"It was found that, if buses and a modified heavy-rail service are to be the main mass public transport mode by the year 2000, the available street capacity will not be able to make provision for the transportation of people in private vehicles to the city centre—even with a

three-hour peak traffic period and with occupancy as high as 2.5 people per vehicle.

Urgent

"It was also found that the high cost of building, land and construction of roads and parking garages in the city centre, will place serious restrictions on the provision of additional street and parking capacities," he said.

Stanway said it was evident from previous studies that urgent attention should be paid to the transport problems of the Greater Johannesburg area.

He said the study has been divided into two stages. Stage 1 started in April 1989.

A coarse level model of the 1985 transport system had been developed. With this model and information from the Jomet Lutsplan exercise, forecasting would be done to 1995, using various alternative transport systems.

Stanway said the preferred public transport system or systems would be tested in the detail level Stage 2 and forecasting would be done to 2005.

The transport modes under consideration, he said, were private vehicles, bus-rapid transit, kombi taxis, guided transit, conventional rail, light rail, and combinations of these.

The finances and economics working group would be responsible for data collection on costs and various modes.

An economic and financial feasibility study into the present and proposed future mass transport systems would be done based on factors such as cost and return on investment.

The environmental working group would review the environmental issues associated with urban transportation and the impact of existing transportation systems in the Johannesburg metropolitan area.

The main objective of the programme was to create a well-informed awareness of Masstran, its brief from the Transport Department, the goals and objectives of the study, the nature of the planning process and to invite feedback from the public.

The group has set up offices in Braamfontein, which members of the public are welcome to visit to obtain additional information.

Masstran consists of Kieve Steyn Inc., Scott and De Waal Inc., Stanway Edwards Associated Inc. and Watermeyer Legge Piesold and Uhlmann.

Represented

The consortium is guided by a steering committee of representatives from the Transport and Finance Departments, the TPA, Sats, Jomet, the Johannesburg City

Council, and the regional services councils of the Witwatersrand, Pretoria, Vaal Triangle, East and West Rand.

Also represented on the steering committee are the Johannesburg CBD (Central Business District) Association, Sabta, the SA [South Africa] Long Distance Taxi Association, the Passenger Transport Association of SA, the SA Bus Operators Association and the Witwatersrand Chamber of Commerce and Industries.

*** International Labor Secretariat Role Debated**

34000183A Johannesburg *NEW NATION* in English
6-12 Oct 89 p 19

[Text] The Food and Allied Workers Union's (Fawu) decision to disaffiliate from the International Union of Foodworkers (IUF) is likely to spark off renewed debate on the role of international labour secretariats in SA [South Africa].

Almost every Cosatu union is affiliated to an international secretariat, most of whom are in turn part of the International Confederation of Trade Unions (ICFTU).

Cosatu, as a national trade union centre in SA, decided at its 1987 national congress not to affiliate to either of the international federations—namely the World Federation of Trade Unions and the ICFTU.

It said, however, that it would strengthen links with trade unions in developing countries, which like itself, were struggling against imperialism.

The IUF has been critical of Cosatu's decision not to affiliate to the ICFTU, which it was reported as describing as the only "show in town".

Fawu, by far the biggest affiliate of the IUF's SA Coordinating Council (SACC) until it withdrew last month, announced its decision to cut its links with the international secretariat at its recent East London conference.

The union cited the IUF-SACC's position on industrial unions as one of its reasons for disaffiliating.

While not clearly spelt out, there has been a measure of disagreement with the IUF's recommendation that catering and commercial sectors be recognised as separate for the purposes of organisation.

In terms of Cosatu's current position on one industry one union, both the commercial and catering sectors are regarded as one, and all workers are supposed to be organised into the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union.

Fawu also cites apparently undemocratic practices of the SACC-IUF as a reason for disaffiliating. Here it referred to a letter circulated by the IUF-SACC to various Cosatu affiliates. The letter addresses allegations made against the IUF. Fawu says the allegations were never discussed in any of the IUF's structures before the letter was drafted.

The SA office of the IUF says, however, that the reasons presented by Fawu, motivating its decision to withdraw from the IUF were vague and unsubstantiated, and could therefore not be tested.

The IUF-SACC says it had offered to participate in any internal investigation with Fawu to examine the allegations and claims made against the IUF but there has been no response.

It went on to say that the main reason for Fawu's disaffiliation could be found in political and ideological differences.

Anti-Communist

"Fawu perceives the IUF to be anti-communist, but it [the IUF] is anti-Stalinist" the SACC says.

Asked to comment, Fawu said it could not respond to unfounded allegations.

Explaining what it meant by "anti-Stalinist", the IUF-SACC said: "The IUF supports independent worker-controlled trade unions. Trade unions should not be under the control of political parties or the state."

But this raises the question of just how autonomous affiliate unions are allowed to be and the merits of IUF intervention where it feels an affiliate is being controlled by a political party.

The IUF-SACC says it has no objections to a trade union deciding to associate itself with a political party if this is democratically decided. It should, however, not be dictated to by a party.

But the mere objection by the IUF to a particular relationship that a trade union has with a political party could easily be interpreted as interference in the affairs of the affiliate. And this would contradict the IUF's policy on independence.

The IUF position on independence and non-interference is not unique. In fact the SA Communist Party [SACP] says in its draft of a workers charter that "no political party, state organ or enterprise, whether public, private or mixed, shall directly or indirectly interfere" with the independence of trade unions.

The SACP adds that trade unions and their federation should be completely independent and answerable only to their members or affiliates.

Fawu's decision to pull out of the IUF follows a highly critical statement by food unions in the Philippines, alleging "political intervention" in their internal affairs.

* Unionization of Farmworkers Emerging

34000190B Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL
in English 27 Oct 89 pp 50-51

[Text] Organised agriculture's negative attitude to the unionisation of farm labour appears to be softening.

The outgoing SA [South Africa] Agricultural Union (SAAU) president, Kobus Jooste, told delegates to the annual congress in Cape Town that farmers will have to accept that in "the new SA" farm labour can't be treated differently.

"Once the issue of political rights for blacks in white areas is resolved and trade unions chuck politics out of their systems, we will even have to accept that agriculture will have to be included in the Labour Relations Act. If we demand for ourselves the right to bargain collectively, can we deny it to others?"

Agriculture is the only sector where trade unions are relatively inactive. Farm labour has the potential to add hundreds of thousands of new members to union federations and to change the face of farming in SA. Jooste says there are 1.5m economically active blacks in farming.

Apart from the current row over the Labour Relations Amendment Act, the unionisation of farm workers is probably the most politically sensitive labour issue facing government. It has consistently refused to commit itself to a farm labour policy and has been sitting five years on a detailed report on the matter from the National Manpower Commission (NMC).

Successive Manpower ministers have said government would respond to the report after consulting with organised agriculture (CURRENT AFFAIRS 10 March). Trade unions have long argued that farm workers urgently need the protection of labour legislation.

Most liberal-minded farmers (apparently a minority) already give their workers a relatively fair deal. It's the more conservative men of the land (socially and politically) that present unions with their greatest challenge. The current economic climate also mitigates against a willingness to accede to union demands, particularly for higher wages and better living conditions.

Government may have to step in to help smooth the transition with wage subsidies or additional housing assistance. Jooste told delegates to the congress that farmers are already struggling to get the sort of State financial assistance for staff housing that is available to other sectors.

"SA will have to look at this situation urgently, otherwise the SAAU will have to help farmers, in their own interest, to get possibly as many as half these (5m black) people off the farms. Those who remain will have to be more productive. There is a red light flashing here. We must take note of it."

It is significant that the following day, government issued a statement saying that, in future, housing for farm workers will form part of the overall housing planning in SA and that a one-off subsidy will be paid to farmers who build houses for their workers.

Whether this will be sufficient to ease mounting political tension within the SAAU remains to be seen. It's clear that government's rapid movement towards significant political reform, the economic squeeze and now the possibility of unionisation, are unsettling many farmers—particularly the substantial number who support the CP [Conservative Party].

Though last week's congress generally steered well clear of party political issues, there were obvious undercurrents of tension. These were heightened by what was seen as Jooste's glowing praise of President F.W. de Klerk and his "new SA" during his presidential address.

It is too early to discuss the possibility of a political split in the SAAU and the formation of a more conservative rival organisation, but it's something worth bearing in mind.

* Government Reviewing Electronics Industry

34000193C Johannesburg *FINANCIAL MAIL*
in English 20 Oct 89 p 81

[Text] Government is taking a fresh look at its technology policy and, in particular, is examining how best it can use SA [South Africa]'s limited capital and manpower resources to further local technology development.

Minister of Trade & Industry Kent Durr expects to announce soon a "framework for technology policy," he says and discussions have been held with, among others, Minister of Administration & Privatisation Wim de Villiers and CSIR [Council for Scientific and Industrial Research] chairman Louw Alberts.

At a press conference held last week to announce details of government's R40m incentive scheme for the electronics industry, Durr said the aim of a technology policy is the optimal allocation of scarce economic resources. He brushed aside suggestions that technology development had taken a back seat in the new Cabinet. "Economic matters, including technology, have been made central to government's concern as never before."

Durr says the incentive scheme, now referred to as Innovation Support for electronics (ISE), marks government's first tangible step since its new emphasis on technology. According to Durr, technology became one of the primary points of government's economic policy at the end of 1987. Since then, a technology division has operated within the Department of Trade & Industry (DTI) to develop technology policy and advise government.

The ISE programme is the result of the findings of the Working Group for the Promotion of the electronics

Industry. This was set up by Durr's predecessor, Danie Steyn, in November 1987 to find ways of cutting the electronics industry's huge foreign exchange bill. Durr's framework for technology policy could take into account recommendations by the working group that were ignored by Steyn. These include support of private sector research and development and improvements in technical education and training.

Announced in May, the ISE scheme provides local electronics firms with financial incentives for the partial funding of projects with export or import-replacement potential. The fund, to be administered by a committee set up by the DTI and Industrial Development Corp (IDC), is likely to be available for the next five years. Applications for part of this year's R40m allocation must be received by 31 December and the first grants are expected to be awarded early next year.

Durr describes the scheme as a *hupstoot* (leg-up) for electronics companies, of whatever size, involved in technological innovation. The finance, which may be in the form of donations or loans, will be provided to cover costs such as salaries, materials and subcontractors' or consultants' fees. Additional support may be considered for the marketing of exports. In assessing applications the joint DTI-IDC committee will consider.

- The percentage of the company's turnover spent on technology and product development during the past three years;
- Design and product development; and
- Project management systems for technology and product development.

Projects that do not qualify for the scheme are those which already receive aid from government and those aimed at the development of software. The Computing Services Association is, however, making separate representation to the Board of Trade & Industry for software development incentives. Projects awarded funds will be monitored to assess sales, profits, foreign exchange earnings and tax in order to appraise the effectiveness of the incentive scheme.

Durr says lack of government support for investment in technology development has in the past put local industry at a disadvantage to competitors abroad. "Tax incentives of the kind often used in other countries are unacceptable to government in the light of the Margo Commission's findings. The alternative is a form of cash incentive to support industry's own efforts in the field of new product technology."

* Data Bank Will Help Constitution Drafting

34010061A Johannesburg *FINANSIES & TEGNIEK*
in Afrikaans 29 Sep p 16

[By Deon Basson]

[Text] A computerized data bank of modern constitutions that has been compiled by the Humanities Research Council (HRC) may become an important tool

in South Africa's search for a new constitution. The project was begun 3 years ago by Dr Daan van Vuuren, head of the HRC's Department of Political Science Research, in cooperation with Prof Vossie Vorster of the University of Pretoria and Prof Francois Venter of Potchefstroom University. The undertaking is the first of its kind in the world and will provide access to complete information about constitutions. Information about laws and conventions that are related to the basic structure and function of the state will also be available.

This particular project coincides with an interesting period in South Africa's constitutional history. In a climate where the government would like to get negotiations with black leader under way, the necessity has arisen of drawing up an appropriate compilation of available constitutional options. Earlier this year at the National Party's federal congress in Pretoria, Mr Kobie Coetsee, minister of justice, referred to the Legal Commission's study on human rights and said the following: "The time has now come to complement that which has been done already and to put together a comprehensive picture of all the constitutional possibilities relevant to collective political rights in a democratic system that may be available to our country. Independent experts must be given the task of presenting a study of possible constitutional models for our country. In light of its proven record and the work which has already been done on individual and group rights, I believe that the Legal Commission is the proper and obvious institution to do the research."

While the government has not yet formally announced that it is going to appoint the Legal Commission to do the work, it is assumed in knowledgeable circles that it indeed will ultimately receive such an assignment. For such a comprehensive project, the Legal Commission should be able to benefit from the work that has already been done by the HRC. Justice Pierre Olivier, chairman of the Legal Commission, is a member of the HRC's Political Science Advisory Committee and is thus well up to speed on the HRC's project. The HRC is now collecting information on the constitutions of 20 federal countries. The plan is to analyze all 170 of the world's constitutions over the next 3 years.

*** Growth of Western Cape High-Tech Firms Noted**

34000885C Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English
1 Nov 89 p 4

[Article by Lesley Lambert]

[Text] Cape Town—Western Cape technology industries appear to have entered an expansionary phase, with the number of new firms growing at an annual average compound rate of 10 percent, according to a recent Technocape survey.

One of the most significant findings of the annual survey is that the expansion has created more work opportunities in certain sectors of technology in the western Cape than there are people to do the work.

But, while the electronic, mechanical, biomedical and materials industries are expanding in the domestic market and providing more job opportunities, their export activities remain relatively low.

Most of the 641 firms surveyed said they did not sell their products abroad, although a number indicated they were trying to break into export markets.

Technology has been pinpointed as one of the major growth areas in the western Cape and it is estimated that more than 60 percent of long-term economic growth will be attributed to technological innovation.

The 641 respondents—43 percent of 1,500 firms which received questionnaires—account for about R2,5bn of the total annual turnover generated by technology firms in the western Cape. They employ about 20,000 people. The majority of respondents have an annual turnover of between R250,000 and R4m.

*** Moss gas Announces Countertrade Agreement**

34000883A Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English
23 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by Brent Melville]

[Text] A countertrade agreement with international contractors on the R8bn Moss gas project could net SA [South Africa] over R1,5bn during the next five years, and may open doors to importers eager to bypass government's strenuous import surcharges.

Under the arrangement multinationals exporting specialist equipment to SA will be required to buy back SA goods and materials over a five-year period to the equivalent value of their imported product.

A Moss gas spokesman said yesterday that at 1989 prices the scheme would generate exports worth at least R1,5bn over the next five years. The scheme is being orchestrated by Marcosa, an independent body originally set up by Moss gas and Gencor to help overseas groups locate potential exports.

Marcosa MD Gert Strydom said goods to be exported must contain at least 30 percent local content by value. The availability of exports will be based on product merit the international group is importing into SA and exports will be sold at the "going rate at the time."

Export

"Already we have commitments to exports of over R40m, all of which will leave the country by year-end, and all of which are new exports. In addition, there are inquiries in the pipeline for exports worth well over R100m," said Strydom.

The main emphasis was on the export of manufactured goods particularly where we hope to identify and open new doors for exports, he said. He declined to term it "sanction busting" saying it was aimed at involving international companies in reciprocal trade with SA.

Strydom said that Marcosa had entered into negotiations with government on the repeal of the surcharge for companies engaged in the countertrade agreement.

"No agreement has yet been reached although we will carry on with the programme regardless," Strydom said. He added however that the Board of Trade and Industry had been "very supportive."

* 2,000 Qualified Computer Programmers Needed

34010061B Johannesburg *BEELD in Afrikaans*
13 Sep 89 p 21

[Text] There is a shortage of almost 2,000 qualified computer programmers in South Africa and young people entering the market today with the right qualifications are almost assured not only of work, but of good prospects, says Mr Jim Miller, a director of Control Data Institute (CTI). CTI specializes in training high school graduates in the computer industry and has been in business locally for 10 years. Another aspect of the computer programming profession is that there is no discrimination in it. Mr Miller says that everyone has equally good opportunities.

* Buthelezi Urges Black, Indian Reconciliation

34000177B Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN in English*
17 Nov 89 p 4

[Text] Stanger. "Ordinary" Blacks and Indians urgently needed to be brought together in a new South Africa, Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

There was a growing black perception that Indians were anti-Black and anti-Inkatha, said when opening new premises for the O. L. Maharaj and Sons trading center at Stanger, north of Durban.

He asked whether Indian economic progress had led to jealousy on one side and "superior disdain" on the other.

There was also the perception that the black alliance had suffered because Colored and Indian people "abandoned Black South Africa" to participate in the tricameral parliament.

As the leader of "the largest constituency ever mobilized" in South Africa, he was plagued by the problem of how to dramatize the need for ordinary people to act together as equals in negotiations for the country's future.

Inkatha was ready to start forging new dimensions in Indian/African relationships, and he knew bodies like the Islamic Council and the Hindu Alliance favored such developments. Sapa.

* Britain Supporting KaNgwane Development Projects

34000883B Johannesburg *SOWETAN in English*
1 Nov 89 p 5

[Text] The Thatcher government has in the past two years supported projects in KaNgwane totalling an estimated R1.6 million rand, British Information Services in Johannesburg said.

Britain began supporting projects in KaNgwane early in 1988 "in response to the needs of the local population and to help meet the problems created by the influx of Mozambican refugees.

"British support takes the form of grants to Operation Hunger for feeding programmes for the refugees and also for a variety of projects in the area."

The Johannesburg office said that British Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick visited KaNgwane last month at the invitation of the Chief Minister, Mr Enos Mabuza. Renwick said that the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher held Mabuza in very high regard "in the light of his determined and effective opposition to apartheid and also for his achievements in KaNgwane."

Renwick visited a number of British funded projects in the homeland and formally opened the community centre at Schoemansdal.

The British government has also provided direct support to the Mozambican refugee community through a number of projects namely:

- Food storage centre in Mangewe reception point
- Transport for food distribution
- Tents for temporary accommodation for the refugees
- Provision of a pre-school.

* Official Population of Greater Soweto 2 Million

34000882A Johannesburg *THE WEEKLY MAIL in English* 3-9 Nov 89 p 14

[Text] It's official—Soweto's population is two million.

The latest figure, given by the Transvaal Provincial Administration [TPA] this week in a fact sheet on the township, contrasts with previous official figures—such as the 1.2-million and the 1.5-million given by then Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis at different times last year.

The fact sheet also reveals the official housing backlog is 31,995 and there are about 40,509 shacks in Soweto—but that there are only 12,762 building sites available in Greater Soweto.

It refers to "excellent progress" with the upgrading of existing houses, financed mostly by the private sectors, with alterations and additions to more than 3,600 houses in Greater Soweto underway at a cost of \$30- million.

From 1980 to 1989, 9,238 new houses have been built, and 150 building plans at a cost of R4,6-million had been approved by September 1989.

According to the TPA, R103-million has been spent on upgrading Soweto's essential services—including such projects as bus stations, bridges, roads, stormwater drainage and water pipe-lines.

And R181,7-million has been spent on electrifying Soweto.

The TPA says Soweto has about 3,000 shebeens, 1,227 trading sites, 10 banks and building societies, 11 bottle stores and 2 industrial parks.

Lekoa, the municipality which covers the Vaal Triangle townships of Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Boipatong, Bophelong, Zamdela and Refengkgotso, accommodates about 650,000 residents.

The central business district in Sebokeng has a supermarket and bank and building society agencies.

* Transkei Colliery Begins Exports to Turkey

34000172C Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN* in English
21 Oct 89 p 16

[Text] Port Elizabeth. The Transkei-registered colliery which is being developed near Indwe in the north-eastern Cape has exported its first 4,500 tons of coal, but plans to establish a regular shipment pattern of between 10-15,000 tons a month.

MD Jurie van Niekerk says the first 4,500 tons have gone to Turkey, but monthly export commitments demand three times this quantity.

He says all initial production has come from open-cast diggings, but explains that the main adit of the mine now extends more than 100 meters into the mountain and penetrated the three-meter thick layer of anthracitic coal—estimated to be about 36 million tons.

Dr van Niekerk says full-scale production is set to start next week and that the labor force is to be increased from 95 to 400.

The colliery is in Transkei, but Indwe is the nearest railhead.—Sapa.

* Strikes Force Transkei To Redraft Labor Laws

34000176A Johannesburg *THE WEEKLY MAIL*
in English 20-25 Oct 89 p 7

[Article by Eddie Koch]

[Text] A wave of strikes has surged through the Transkei in the last 10 days, forcing military ruler Major General Bantu Holomisa to redraft the territory's outmoded labor laws.

Wildcat strikes, which began with stoppages at three Umtata factories last week, have now hit at least eight plants in Umtata and Butterworth, the Transkei's two industrial centers.

In the midst of this labor unrest, the Transkei Department of manpower last Friday issued a statement that new labor legislation would be announced at the homeland's independence anniversary celebrations next week.

On Wednesday Holomisa held talks with worker representatives and he was yesterday locked in talks with both worker and employer delegates over the issue.

Workers plan to hold a march through the streets of Umtata on Monday to demand trade union rights.

The Transkei, like most independent "homelands", is governed by outdated labor legislation that existed in South Africa in the 1950s. It lays down basic conciliation procedures, but excludes the right of workers to bargain collectively or strike. There is no industrial court in the territory.

It is believed that Holomisa, who recently met with the African National Congress and distanced himself from Pretoria, will allow unions to operate and give them the right to bargain collectively.

"At a time when his credibility is being questioned by workers who perceive a silent bias towards capital, he has indicated that no striking workers will be dismissed and that trade unions may be legalized," according to a legal representative for the union.

While most of the strikes were spontaneously organized, there are signs of attempts to set up a trade union for workers in the territory.

Violence has marred some disputes. Management staff at Sun Manufacturers in Umtata are due to appear in the magistrate's court in connection with an alleged assault on 120 striking workers. Employees at Vulindlela were teargassed by the Transkei police last Friday, the legal representative said.

Other factories hit by the strike wave include Ohlsson's Breweries in Butterworth, Tally Clothing Industries in Butterworth, Wild Coast Diamonds in Umtata and the Inglotex plant in Umtata.

Workers at Vulindlela have been dismissed and baton-wielding police were called in to disperse 150 workers who this week occupied a clothing factory in Butterworth to back their demand for a 25 percent wage hike.

- Meanwhile, a bitter strike by more than 5,000 Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) members continued at SA Breweries plants around the country without any sign of a resolution.

Management has reported high levels of worker violence, including the stabbing of casual workers, petrol-bombing of the homes of non-strikers and threats to SAB [South

Africa Breweries] customers. Union organizer Rajin Naicker said the union did not support or condone violence and called for a halt to such acts.

SAB says production had not been affected but the strike had disrupted deliveries in some areas.

A 10-day strike by 5,700 Fawu members at Premier Food's milling, Epic and Epol plants was settled yesterday after agreement was reached over wages and conditions of employment. The company lifted a lockout imposed on the workers during the strike. Workers will receive a R30 or 16 percent increase on minimum wages of R184.

A strike by 1,600 members of National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa has brought production to a halt at six Van Leer plants around the country.

More than 8,000 members of the National Union of Mineworkers will meet on Saturday to discuss resuming their wage strike at De Beers diamond mines after 10-hours of talks on Wednesday failed to break the dead-lock. The strike was suspended on Wednesday.

However both parties shifted position with management increasing its minimum wage offer from R647 to R653 and its maximum from R1,858 to R1,866 a month. The union revised its demand from R761 to R700 for the lower grade, but stuck to its demand of R1,890 for higher grades.

A strike by some 800 members of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union at Sasol Collieries in the Eastern Transvaal was resolved this week after workers accepted a management offer of increases in their food allowances.

The Witwatersrand region of Cosatu has announced it is planning a protest march in Johannesburg to back demands for the release of their education secretary, Amos Masondo. Detained under the Emergency regulations a month ago, Masondo has embarked on a hunger strike.

Zwelinzima Vavi, a member of Cosatu's executive committee detained last month, started a hunger strike on Saturday.

An industrial court application by the Paper Print Wood and Allied Workers' Union (Ppwawu) for an order compelling the SA Print and Allied Industries Federation to reverse its plans to withdraw from the industrial council for the printing industry was rejected this week.

Court member David John acknowledged that the federation's move was designed to avoid bargaining with Ppwawu at industrial council level. However, he said, three large companies had indicated they would resign from the employer federation if it remained on the council and this would have the practical effect of dissolving the council.

John said membership of an employer federation was voluntary and the union had failed to show prima facie evidence of an unfair labor practice.

*** Ciskei Attracting Investment; Industry Booming**

34000200B Johannesburg *FINANCIAL MAIL*
in English 20 Oct 89 pp 86-87

[Text] Ciskei's experiment as a free market-orientated enclave proves that market forces can overcome huge political stumbling blocks.

Despite being officially shunned by the international community because of its origins in SA [South Africa]'s discredited homeland policy, the tiny territory continues to attract investment at a rapid rate.

Industrial investment has now reached R580.5m after 42 new projects, representing R46.1m, were established in 1988-1989, according to the Ciskei Peoples development Bank's report. Slightly over 30 percent of the investment came from the public sector. The previous year there were 24 new projects.

Ciskei now has 196 established industries with a further 23 projects approved by the bank's board. In addition, 18 expansions to factories—an investment of R11m—also took place.

"Direct employment at these factories now totals almost 30,000, an increase of 3,000 over the past year," says chairman Paul Hoogendyk.

While non-SA investment is responsible for only 26 percent of Ciskei's 196 industries, it accounts for more than half of the new employment. Another eight foreign projects, valued at R16m and with the potential to create 1,000 jobs, were approved recently.

Ciskei's industries include clothing, textiles, food, iron and steel, timber, motor vehicle components, transport, chemicals, rubber, electronic, furniture, plastics and electrical goods.

A major draw card is the homeland's no-company-tax policy.

"Of all the industries established in Ciskei, 46.9 percent enjoy the country's tax-haven status," Hoogendyk says, "while the balance still operate on short-term concessions allocated prior to tax legislation changes in March 1985."

*** KwaZulu Government Orders Airfield Construction**

34000174C Johannesburg *SUNDAY STAR* in English
29 Oct 89 p 4

[Text] Consulting engineers B.S. Bergman and Partners will design 15 airfields for the KwaZulu Government, which is considering spending some R18 million on the project over the next five years.

Each airfield will be designed to take 10-seater aircraft, and they will each cost between \$800,000 and \$2.3 million.

Three existing airfields will also be upgraded.

*** KwaZulu, Natal Economic Growth Viewed**
34000181C Johannesburg THE STAR in English
6 Oct 89 p 14

[Article by John Spira]

[Text] Sanctions and disinvestment are emotional issues in KwaZulu and Natal and continuing sources of division within the black community.

This is one of many views expressed in a supplement to the latest London-based EUROMONEY magazine.

The supplement was sponsored by Allied Group, Barlow Rand, Eskom, GFSA, United, FNB, Old Mutual, Trust Bank, Premier Group, the cities of Durban and Pietermaritzburg and the KwaZulu Finance Investment Corporation.

It points out that Natal is an export-based economy looking for markets to earn foreign exchange. "At the same time, countries around the world are calling for tighter sanctions against South Africa until it dismantles apartheid."

In an attempt to place KwaZulu in perspective, EUROMONEY cites the following statistics: "Although KwaZulu's contribution regionally is small, it represents 54.2 percent of the aggregate contribution to South Africa from the six self-governing states.

"KwaZulu is estimated to be the second-fastest growing region after the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Verelening] area."

The region has recorded a real growth rate over a 10-year period of 3.6 percent a year. And the magazine believes that while the core industrial areas will continue to be important, the rest of the region is expected to play an increasing role in the economy.

"Manufacturing, communication, transport and industry will remain reasonably buoyant provided the government maintains its pledge on reform.

Assets

"Mining and agriculture will remain small scale, although locally it is hoped that increasing emphasis will be placed on the role it has to offer. Tourism is probably the greatest asset and a valuable source of foreign exchange for the country as a whole.

Chief Buthelezi is quoted as follows: "The KwaZulu Natal area could become South Africa's equivalent of the Ruhr Valley. Ample land, coal and water resources already exist in close proximity to deep water harbours, burgeoning agriculture and a market population that rivals that of France.

"A large and energetic workforce numbering more than three million provides another reason for investment and growth."

EUROMONEY points to the region's widespread poverty resulting from migrant labour to the industrial areas and Durban.

"The core economy of Natal continues to grow, which has resulted in 80 percent of KwaZulu's economically-active population seeking opportunities outside tribal land."

It says the region's blend of Third and First World characteristics is a constant reminder of how poor many of its inhabitants are. "Nowhere is this more evident than in the townships that surround the metropolis of Durban and the capital city of Pietermaritzburg.

Poverty

"Poverty is endemic. There is a growing disparity between the lifestyles of blacks and whites, and between urban and rural dwellers. "the basics such as water and electricity are often absent in the townships and rural communities."

The magazine stresses that KwaZulu Natal has moved faster than the rest of the country in seeking a negotiated settlement on power sharing, suggesting that the Indaba addressed the problem of how to govern both Natal and KwaZulu 'jointly and fairly.'

While new foreign investment in the region had been limited since 1985, the business community and government officials such as Chief Buthelezi actively marketed the region, hoping to stimulate interest among overseas investors.

EUROMONEY concludes: "Natal KwaZulu's main problem and a stumbling block to the rapid development it needs is that the region is in South Africa."

Mauritius

* Jugnauth News Conference on Current Affairs

90EF0050A Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French
30 Oct 89 pp 1, 30

[Article by Jean-Marc Poche: "Investigatory Committee on Races Being Formed"; first three paragraphs are editor's lead; passages within single and double slantlines published in English and Creole, respectively]

[Excerpt] SAJ [Sir Anerood Jugnauth] thanks the people for their warm welcome to the Pope and answers questions on the "Azor Adelaide affair," his meeting with Mr Berenger, South Africa, etc.

The prime minister [PM] announced during a press conference this morning that the powers of the committee that will be named to look into horseracing had been finalized and declared himself in favor of the "/Tote System/", suggesting that the government could be partners in a "/joint venture/."

Moreover, the prime minister reviewed the essential points of the recent Commonwealth summit conference he just attended in Malaysia. In answer to questions, he also clarified the circumstances of his recent meeting with Mr Paul Berenger and said that if Sir Satcam Boolell [SSB] is summoned before the Flacq court to clear up certain points in the investigation of Azor Adelaide's death, he would be present. He thanked the Mauritian people for their warm welcome of John Paul II and hoped that his message would be heard. He would like the conference on the Indian Ocean to be held as quickly as possible and expressed the wish that Namibia be free and independent before the next Commonwealth summit. [passages omitted]

Moving on to the Commonwealth conference that he just attended, SAJ commended Dr Mahathir, prime minister of Malaysia, the host country, for the success of the conference. He mentioned the different decisions made by the member states, notably the nomination of a "committee of former [hosts]" to prepare the next Commonwealth conference in Zimbabwe.

SAJ also reminded his listeners that an Equity Fund had been created, under Commonwealth sponsorship, to assist the poorest countries. On the economic question, the prime minister mentioned that trade and technology exchange had been stressed. The conference called for trade barriers to be lifted and [the] protectionist policy to be discarded.

Problems relating to the environment, democracy, and human rights were also discussed, SAJ emphasized. On the latter subject, SAJ appealed personally to Commonwealth members to exert pressure on the government in power in Fiji to restore democracy and respect human rights.

"Human rights are being denied to a large segment of the Fijian people," SAJ pointed out.

The Commonwealth, the prime minister noted with satisfaction, the detente that is developing between East and West blocks and that augurs "basic changes in international politics" "raises hope for overall peace in the world." [as published]

"I dwelled on peace in the Indian Ocean and insisted that the Colombo conference on the Indian Ocean—a peaceful zone—be held. Great Britain, we hope, will return the Chagos Archipelago to Mauritius's patrimony. Otherwise the decolonization of Mauritius is not yet over, because a part of our territory is still occupied."

The Mauritian PM denounced certain comments he heard to the effect that "other emerging regional powers could pose a threat to the region." SAJ considers that "an excuse."

The PM also spoke of the situation in Namibia and was delighted that the procedures for bringing about the independence of that country were implemented. SAJ hoped that Namibia "will gain its freedom before the next Commonwealth conference."

On South Africa, Sir Anerood said the Commonwealth has noted certain "positive" changes since the new president Mr de Klerk took office.

"These changes do not spring from generosity, but are the result of the sanctions imposed by the international community and that played a large part," said the Mauritian prime minister.

"These sanctions," he continued, "must be maintained. Banks must not grant loans to South Africa. //No loan must be given to South Africa. //"

Sir Anerood Jugnauth noted that he had presented Mauritius as an example of interethnic understanding. During the Commonwealth summit he reiterated his proposal that Mauritius be the site of a conference bringing together all the parties in South Africa.

"I also denied accusations that Mauritius practices '/sanctions busting/.' I challenged all those who claim the opposite to furnish the slightest proof."

SAJ then spoke of his stay in Singapore where, he said, housing and communications particularly caught his eye. He was able to observe how Singapore could be of technical assistance to Mauritius.

Speaking of local politics, the prime minister said that inflation remains the country's top problem. "It is really the root of the problem," he said. "The people must stick together, they must do everything to help combat this evil if we want Mauritius's development to continue. And we want to use all possible means to lower the inflation rate and effectively combat the scourge."

Sir Satcam Boolell, vice-prime minister, who was at SAJ's side, said the Commonwealth conference "made a change for the better in the world." He mentioned the problem of the environment: "a global problem," he

stressed. "The Commonwealth," said SSB, "denounced certain countries that want to exploit the Antarctic."

SSB also mentioned that the problem of drugs was discussed by the Commonwealth heads. He cited certain ideas that were proposed on the matter suggesting that the United Nations set up a force that could be made available to countries wishing to combat drugs.

Question and Answer Period

[LE MAURICIEN] You mentioned the sanctions against South Africa. What about the preferential treatment given to South African products?

[SAJ] I had the opportunity of bringing up that problem. In fact, Mauritius can be considered a "front-line state/." We've just come out of a very grave economic period. We were going under. We could not cut ourselves off from South Africa overnight.

To a question asked by MaBCTV on his meeting with Mrs Thatcher in Kuala Lumpur, the prime minister explained that he is aware that it is Great Britain who is taking the hardest line in Europe. That is why he made a special point of explaining to Mrs Thatcher that the cost of producing sugar must not rise so high that ACP [African, Caribbean, and Pacific] countries are forced to abandon sugarcane farming, on which the economy "of our countries" depends.

[CINQ PLUS] You said that the Pope's truth brought the church and the state closer. Do you mean there are no more problems between the two?

[SAJ] There are certain problems. I hope that the spirit of dialogue will continue to prevail. If both sides show goodwill, we can solve the problem.

To a question about the races raised by WEEKEND following the interview with Judge Robert Ahnee in Saturday's LE MAURICIEN, SAJ announced that the powers of the committee to investigate the MTC [expansion unknown] had already been determined. He said he favored setting up the "Tote System" as quickly as possible. "The only question is [who] will manage it. Personally, I think the government needs to enter into a joint venture/."

[LE MAURICIEN, to the vice prime minister] During your absence, your name was cited in the investigation of the Azor Adelaide affair.

[SAJ, answering for SBB] I can answer that question. I would like to draw attention to the fact that the Flacq court is not an investigatory committee. And if it needs clarifications and calls the vice prime minister as a witness, the VPM will show up in court."

Citing his recent meeting with Mr Paul Berenger, SAJ specified that it was a union meeting that Mr Berenger attended in his capacity as technical adviser. "Courtesy prevented me from sending him out. The purpose of the

meeting was to settle a problem concerning the unloading of corn, but we also spoke of other matters."

SAJ said his government and the opposition were in agreement on a number of important questions and that "insofar as we can mount a united front on some questions, it will be a good thing for the country."

The PM said he was not in favor of a regular government/opposition round table because it is already done in Parliament and our political system does not provide for another round-table formula.

* Indian Banking Accord; Secrets Act Discussed

90EF0050B Port Louis THE SUN in French
12 Oct 89 p 8

[Article entitled: "'Offshore' Bankers May Be Required To Take Oath Under 'Secrets Act'"; passages within slantlines published in English]

[Text] The vice prime minister and minister of finances, Mr Vishnu Lutchmeenaraidoo, mentioned the possibility that "offshore/" bankers might be asked to take oath under the /Secrets Act/ yesterday during the ceremony marking the signature of an agreement between the State Bank of India [SBI] and the State Commercial Bank [SCB] on their /Offshore Banking "joint venture."/

For the finance minister, such a measure would discourage information leaks and help create the necessary confidence in Mauritius's /offshore/ sector. The minister also stressed the necessity that the /offshore/ bankers be professionals of unimpeachable integrity. The latter requirement explains the presence of distinguished individuals from the international financial world on the board of directors of S.B. International Ltd, a company created to lead the /offshore/ bankers of the SBI/SCB tandem. The board of directors is composed of Messrs T.M.K. Reddy, /managing director/ of the SCB; B. Bhattacharya, assistant /managing director/ for SBI's international banking operations; Madhukar Saxena, current head of SBI's /Offshore Banking Unit/ [OBU] in Bahrain; and S. Sawaikar.

The new company S.B. International Ltd has capital of 160 million rupees (10 million American dollars), held equally (49 percent by each of the two banks), with the remaining 2 percent belonging to the /State Investment Corporation (SIC)./

The minister of finances termed this SBI/SCB joint venture "a milestone/" in the banking industry and emphasized that Mauritius could only benefit given SBI's excellent international reputation.

In addition to its traditional activities, the /Offshore Banking Unit/ of S.B. International will support the development of trade relations between India and Mauritius, said Mr Bhattacharya. He also indicated that, besides financing imports and exports, the OBU intends to start up currency transactions.

The SBI will make its experience available to S. B. International. Thus, the OBU will have Mr Madhukar Saxena, who has 20 years of banking experience, as /Chief Executive./ He will be seconded by Mr N. R. Seshu, who manages the loan portfolio at the Paris SBI, and Mr Radhakrishnan, a specialist in currency operations. The SBI will also help train SCB executives.

In a statement to THE SUN, M.K. Reddy of the SCB indicated that the OBU/SCB/SBI would be operational in January of 1990 and that the "/offshore/" unit would be housed in the SICOM Building. Emphasizing that the SCB has 27 percent of the local banking market, he said that, with the "/joint venture/", the state bank would shine internationally.

Also present at yesterday's ceremony was His Excellency M.K. Rana, the new Indian high commissioner to Mauritius, who shared Mr Lutchmeenaraidoo's opinion that professionals were needed to head companies such as the /Offshore./ He said he was happy that the SCB had

linked up with India's largest bank. The association, he added, /"will help to the development of further lustre and radiance of Mauritius on the international financial scene."/ [as published]

The SBI is a financial and investment firm, with a network of over 11,000 branch banks, the most farflung network ever maintained by a bank in the world. With assets of 50 billion U.S. dollars, the SBI, which employs 225,000 people, is the fifth-largest bank in Asia.

The SBI is ranked First-1 by Moody's Investors Service and A-2 by Standard and Poors, rankings recognized on all international financial markets.

The SBI maintains a strong presence on the great financial markets such as London, Paris, Frankfurt, Antwerp, New York, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Bahrain, as well as on the other financial markets through 42 branch banks scattered throughout 28 countries.

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27 Dec 1989

